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NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

Sixtus sculp.

Engraved for John Evans New York.

THE
BATTLE OF WATERLOO;

OR,

A FAITHFUL AND INTERESTING
HISTORY OF THE UNPARALLELED EVENTS

CONNECTED THEREWITH;

From the period of Bonaparte's escape from Elba, to his arrival at St. Helena:

CONTAINING A CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE OF THE

Decisive Victory

OBTAINED OVER THE FRENCH BY THE ALLIED ARMIES, ON THE

PLAINS OF WATERLOO,

JUNE 18, 1815.

Under the command of those illustrious Generals,

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON & PRINCE BLUCHER.

~~~~~  
Collected from official Documents.  
~~~~~

Interspersed with Biographical and Characteristic Anecdotes; and remarkable instances of personal
Heroism, displayed on that memorable occasion.

Likewise an account of the most striking occurrences in the

GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE:

WITH THE

Trials and Execution of Ney, Labedoyere, &c.

Also, the surrender of Bonaparte on board the Bellerophon, and his
final banishment to St. Helena.

WITH A

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THAT ISLAND.

~~~~~  
Illustrated with Plans of the Battle, Portraits, &c.  
*Beautifully engraved.*  
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NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN EVANS, FRANKLIN-SQUARE.

J. Gray and Co. Printers.

1819.

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THE history of mankind does not furnish the Biographer with a subject in which there is such a combination of character and circumstance, as he whose eventful life gives rise to the interesting narrative now offered to the public. The French Revolution, terrible in its effects, has produced a series of events unexampled in the annals of nations.—We can turn to no period of it, and retrace its progress, without wonder and astonishment. The mind of the reader is at once interested, amazed, and almost overawed! Yet it will be allowed by every one, that the period selected to form the present sketch, is the most replete with occurrences of this nature.—The sudden overthrow of Bonaparte from the throne of France—his exile to the isle of Elba—his escape from thence, and resumption of the Imperial dignity, resemble more an Eastern romance than real occurrences; while the second downfall of this extraordinary character was equally sudden, astonishing, and complete.

The events connected with this important epoch cannot fail to call forth the liveliest interest of every reader: and the ever-memorable VICTORY OF WATERLOO will be kept in remembrance while time itself shall endure.

The beneficial results of this splendid victory to all Europe, can scarcely be calculated: the effects so grand—their succession to each other so rapid—and, at the same time, so weighty in the scale of importance—excite an interest unprecedented by any other single occurrence recorded in history.

In the present work, which is now offered to the attention of the public, no exertions or expense will be spared to render it superior to any other edition on the subject now extant. The utmost care will be observed in the compilation, and the most authentic accounts will be strictly adhered to, and faithfully narrated. The work will also be rendered more valuable by the occasional insertion of biographical and characteristic anecdotes of the principal commanders, &c. and a variety of interesting information, which has been obtained from persons who were present at the great battle.

In a word, the publisher being determined to maintain his claim to the approbation and favour he has hitherto so abundantly experienced, will use every endeavour on the present occasion, to render this work worthy the notice of the public.

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BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

CHAPTER I.

Bonaparte's banishment to Elba—His composure under reverses of fortune—Inspects his works—Reviews his little army—His remarks on the French journals—Treaty of Fontainbleau—Proclamations to the French, and the army—Enters Grenoble—The King's troops join Bonaparte—Preparations of Louis—Bonaparte enters Paris.

THE different nations of Europe who, for twenty-three years, had been convulsed by the ravages of a sanguinary and incessant war, had scarcely laid aside their hostile weapons, and begun to taste repose, when an event the most extraordinary and unlooked-for took place, which again threatened to involve the world in one common ruin. The course of events which had occurred to produce the overthrow of Bonaparte, and to re-establish legal monarchy in France, though in themselves great, are, when compared with the sanguinary sequel, scarcely important enough to excite any curiosity. Every one thought he had lived to see the accomplishment of that object for which so many thousands of lives had been sacrificed; and, with a pleasing expectation, waited for the happy results of peace. The fall and banishment of Bonaparte was hailed as the signal for happier times, and

Bonaparte's conduct under reverses of fortune.

became the subject of universal joy. The image of danger was banished from the minds of men, and they viewed the late object of all their fears as a prisoner cooped on a rock in the ocean, from whence escape was impracticable.

While Europe was thus looking forward to the enjoyment of repose, and national amities began to be cultivated—on a sudden, as if by magic, the scene was changed; and Napoleon Bonaparte, darting from the rock of Elba, again appeared upon the stage. When we review his conduct under reverses of fortune almost without parallel, we find it truly surprising. Any ordinary character who had been raised to the splendid situation from which he who had subjugated nations, changed governments, and created kings, was suddenly precipitated, would, on such a reverse, have been overwhelmed with despair, and, most probably, have terminated an existence which such an alteration of circumstances must have rendered miserable. Napoleon Bonaparte on the contrary, while in exile on the Isle of Elba, displayed the same composure and activity which had so eminently distinguished him in the highest career of his glory. His days were apparently passed in the most pleasant occupations; he often rose before day, employed himself for several hours; then took some repose; afterwards he went out and visited all the works; almost always he was in the middle of his workmen, who reckoned among them many soldiers of the guard.

Converses with philosophers, &c.

After breakfast he reviewed his little army, from whom he required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse for his morning ride. Among his principal officers were distinguished Marshal Bertrand and General Drouet, who scarcely ever quitted him. On his way he gave audience to all whom he met. Those who were admitted to his table were received by him with frankness, cordiality, and perfect ease. The emperor appeared to have found the secret, without losing any of his dignity, of becoming a simple individual among individuals; and around him the conversation had all the liberty and all the careless freedom which can be enjoyed at the table d'hôte. The evenings were dedicated to family parties. Among the persons of the city who were most usually received, were found the mayor of Porto Ferrajo, the governor of the island, and the chamberlain Vantini.

When the emperor received the visit of any stranger, which frequently happened, he entertained him with grace and familiarity. He conversed with philosophers and *scavans*, of the Institute of the Royal Academy of London, and also of the discoveries made in our times in the profound sciences, in chemistry, galvanism, electricity. He congratulated the rich English landholders on the progress of their agriculture, and the liberality of their country's laws: in fine, he talked with the military of the historical memoirs which he was writing of his campaigns.

Bonaparte's remarks on the French journals.

Some merchants of different countries disembarked one day while the emperor was at the port: he asked them what they came to see. "To see the country, to see the mines."—"Why," said he to them, smiling, "why not at once avow that it is myself whom you come to see? Well, here I am."

Amongst the strangers who frequented the island of Elba, the English, in particular, appeared to attach the greatest value to seeing and hearing him. Often were they seen on the road from Porto Ferrajo to St. Martin, waiting for his majesty, for five or six hours, and after seeing him they embarked immediately.

Others stopped, in the first instance, at Ajaccio, visited the house where his majesty was born, uncovered themselves with a feeling of respect before the portrait of him whom they looked upon as a great man, and carried away on their departure a fragment of stone or brick, taken from the house, which recalled all that the history of the age will offer most remarkable to posterity.

Lord Bentinck, Lord Douglas, and a great number of other English lords, were admitted, courted, and, as it were, treated with fetes by his majesty: all carried back with them the most interesting recollections of the reception they had met with. One of them, one evening, accompanied his majesty, who, after dinner, was visiting the works of Porto Ferrajo. The emperor met the grand marshal, who was coming from the port, and going towards the palace, with papers under his arm: "Are they the

Amuses himself with discoursing with his grenadiers.

French journals ?"—“ Yes, sire.”—“ Am I well cut up ?”—“ No, sire, there is no mention of your majesty to-day.”—“ Come, we shall have it to-morrow ; it is an intermitting fever, but the fits will pass away.” The emperor amused himself with discoursing with his grenadiers, whom he distinguished by the title of *his grumblers* ; an expression far more agreeable to the feelings of an old soldier, than the finest phrase he could have made use of.

One day, observing a more than usual dejection in one of them, “ Well grumbler,” said he, “ you are moped.”—“ No, sire, but I am not amused too much always.”—“ You are wrong ; you must take time as it comes, and get rid of it by jingling your money in your pocket, and humming a tune ; this will not last for ever.”

The number of works begun and finished in the space of ten months, is inconceivable. Not far from the castle, a long neglected barrack became, when embellished by him, by turns, a hall for receiving company, a ball-room, and a theatre ; and the officers of the guard, and the ladies of honour of the princesses, there once performed *les Fausses Infidelites*, and *les Folles Amoureuses*. His majesty caused several roads to be made fit for carriages, which were planted with trees ; and as they are extremely rare in the island, he procured a great number from Italy, particularly mulberries. The emperor himself discovered a spring in the vicinity of the town of Porto Ferrajo, which was at that time in want of water, and caused it to be conveyed into

Dissatisfaction of the French army.

the town. These works were far advanced when he quitted the island.

While thus apparently amusing himself, Bonaparte was not an inattentive observer of European politics, and they exactly suited his views. The French nation was agitated with the deepest discontent, and the army feeling their glory was lost, openly expressed their dissatisfaction; and this was considerably increased by the return of upwards of 300,000 prisoners of war, in a state of the most abject indigence. In fact, France resembled a large barrack of discontented soldiery. Nor did the conduct of Louis XVIII. who had ascended the throne under the auspices of the conquerors of France, tend to conciliate the public mind. By pretending to have reigned nineteen years, and rejecting the charter presented by the senate, he insulted the national pride, and excited the jealousy and fears of a numerous party, who, tired of the military despotism of Bonaparte, expected the establishment of a liberal government under the Bourbons. It was hoped, they had learned knowledge and moderation in the school of misfortune; but it was chiefly the injudicious zeal which the Bourbons evinced in favour of the clergy, that spread an alarm amongst the proprietors of national estates, who form four-fifths of the French landholders; and these were not inactive in exciting the apprehension of the peasantry, respecting the revival of feudal domination. Italy also exhibited the utmost agitation at the conventions of the congress of Vienna, while Murat,

Treaty of Fontainbleau.

king of Naples, at the head of a well-appointed army, formed a rallying point for those that wished to contend for Italian independence.

In this alarming state of affairs, the treatment which Bonaparte experienced, was eminently calculated to excite the sympathy of his enemies, and the indignation of his friends. After being torn from family and domestic affections, Maria Louisa and her son were deprived of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, guaranteed to them by the treaty of Fontainbleau,* and an exchange offered without her

* As the particulars of that treaty may not be unacceptable, the reader is here presented with the interesting account :—

Article 1. His majesty the emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

2. Their majesties the emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, brothers, and sisters, nephews and nieces of the emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of princes and princesses of his family.

3. The isle of Elba, adopted by his majesty the emperor Napoleon, as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property to the emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the empress.

4. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty, to her majesty the empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to her de-

Treaty of Fontainebleau.

approbation. The pension promised Bonaparte was withheld by the French government: it was even proposed at the congress of Vienna, to remove him either to St. Lucia or St. Helena, though the island of Elba had been assigned to him in perpetuity.

scendants in the right line. The prince her son, shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

5. All the powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary powers, the flag and territory of the isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

6. There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced, to his majesty the emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains or rent charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains or rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such a manner, that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportions, viz.

	<i>Francs.</i>
To Madame Mere	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
To King Louis	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and to her children . . .	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen	500,000
To the Princess Eliza	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000
	2,500,000

The princes and princesses of the house of the emperor Napoleon shall retain, besides, their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals.)

Treaty of Fontainebleau.

These measures afforded Bonaparte a strong pretext for violating the treaty he had signed, and determined him to make a desperate effort to recover his dignity and his glory. This bold and desperate resolution he executed with a secrecy and address,

7. The annual pension of the empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France: she shall continue to enjoy in full property, all her private property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

8. There shall be granted to prince Eugene, viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

9. The property which his majesty the emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domains or as private domains, attached to the crown, the funds placed by the emperor, either in the great book of France, or in the bank of France, or the *Actions des Fortes*, or in any other manner, and which his majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French government.

10. All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

11. His majesty the emperor Napoleon shall return to the treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

12. The debts of the household of his majesty the emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a commissioner appointed for that purpose.

13. The obligations of the Mont-Napoleon, of Milan, towards

Bonaparte's departure from Porto Ferrajo.

that astonished all Europe. Of this extraordinary march the following is an accurate detail.

Bonaparte took his departure from Porto Ferrajo, on the 26th of February, at five in the evening. in extremely fine, calm weather, which lasted till the 1st of March, the time of his landing in France. For this measure he had been silently making preparations for several months; having prohibited all strangers from landing in Elba, on account of the misrepresentations published by travellers concerning him. At the same time he laid a strict embargo on all vessels then in the ports of the island; and having completed all his arrangements, he assembled

all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

14. There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his majesty the emperor Napoleon, or of the empress, the princes and the princesses, and all the persons of their suits who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The allied powers shall, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

15. The French imperial guard shall furnish a detachment of from 1200 to 1500 men of all arms, to serve as an escort to the emperor Napoleon to St. Tropes, the place of his embarkation.

16. There shall be furnished a corvette, and the necessary transport vessels, to convey to the place of his destination his majesty the emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his majesty the emperor.

17. The emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him and retain as his guard, 400 men, volunteers, as well officers as sub-officers and soldiers.

in hopes of escaping the English and French cruisers.

his guards, to whom he announced his intentions, and inquired if they would follow him. These men, whose attachment to the person of Napoleon, as their general, had led them to participate in his exile at Elba, unanimously expressed their readiness to accompany him; and to the number of eleven hundred were immediately embarked, with five pieces of cannon, on board of five vessels. The wind was south, and appeared favourable; Captain Chaubard was in hopes that before break of day the isle of Capraia would be doubled, and that he should be out of the track of the French and Eng-

18. No Frenchman who shall have followed the emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights, as such, by not returning to France within three years: at least they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

19. The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

20. The high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

21. The present shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within two days, or sooner, if possible.

Done at Paris, the 11th of April, 1814.

[This document was signed by the ministers of the allied sovereigns; and on the part of Napoleon by marshals Ney and Caulincourt.]

Stratagem of Bonaparte to avoid suspicion.

lish cruisers who watched the coast. This hope was, however, disappointed. He had scarcely doubled Cape St. Andre, in the isle of Elba, when the wind fell, and the sea became calm ; at break of day he had only made six leagues, and was still between the isle of Capraia and the isle of Elba, in sight of the cruisers. The peril appeared imminent ; several of the mariners were for returning to Porto Ferrajo. Bonaparte ordered the voyage to be continued, having for a resource, in the last resort, to seize the French cruisers. Towards noon the wind freshened a little. At four in the afternoon he was off the heights of Leghorn ; a frigate appeared five leagues to windward, another was on the coast of Corsica, and further off a vessel of war was coming right before the wind, in the track of the brig. At six o'clock in the evening, the brig, which had on board Bonaparte, met with a brig which was recognised to be *Le Zephir*, commanded by Captain Andrieux. Bonaparte gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and conceal themselves on the deck, preferring to pass the brig without being recognised, and reserving to himself the measure of causing the flag to be changed, if obliged to have recourse to it. The two brigs passed side by side. The Lieutenant de Vaisseau Taillade, an officer of the French marine, was well acquainted with Captain Andrieux, and from this circumstance was disposed to speak to him. He asked Captain Andrieux if he had any commissions for Genoa ; some pleasantries were exchanged, and the two brigs going

Enters the gulf of Juan—issues proclamations.

contrary ways, were soon out of sight of each other, without Captain Andrieux having the least knowledge of who was on board this frail vessel.

On the 28th, at break of day, a 74-gun ship was observed, which seemed to be making for St. Florent or Sardinia. At seven in the morning, the coast of Noli was discovered; at noon, Antibes; and at three, on the 1st of March, this small squadron entered the gulf of Juan. Bonaparte ordered that a captain of the guard, with 25 men, should disembark before the troops in the brig, to secure the battery on the coast, if any one was there. This captain took into his head the idea of causing to be changed the cockade of the battalion which was at Antibes. But the officer who commanded at this place, caused the draw-bridge to be drawn up, and took the whole party prisoners. At five in the afternoon, the disembarkation was effected, and a bivouac established on the sea-shore until the moon arose.—The following proclamations were immediately dispersed :—

“ *Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.*

“ Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

“ *To the French people.*

“ FRENCHMEN!—The defection of the duke of Castiglione, delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army, of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, and the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army which threatened Paris.

Bonaparte's proclamations.

“ The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier ; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation.

“ The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource : it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

“ Under these new and important circumstances my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interests of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be still, useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens who wished to accompany me, to partake of my lot. I thought their presence useful to France ; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

“ Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and a new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of the feudal law ; he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who for

Bonaparte's proclamations.

twenty-five years have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

“ Frenchmen ! in my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes ; you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber ; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

“ I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind ; I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of ; it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human election.

“ Frenchmen ! there is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace, of obeying a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a *Prince Regent of England*.

“ It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

“ NAPOLEON.”

“ *Gulf of Juan, March 1.*

“ Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

“ *To the Army.*

“ SOLDIERS !—We were not conquered ; two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

“ Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing

Bonaparte's proclamations.

all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared even to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labour—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

“Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you; come and join him.

“Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France; mount the tri-coloured cockade; you bore it in the days of our greatness.

“We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

“Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them?—They shall return whence they came, and there, if they please, they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory—the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children—have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions which have glorified the people of France, fighting against them to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

Takes his route to Cannes.

“ The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, and of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced: their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

“ Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against their country and us.

“ Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief: his existence is only composed of yours, his rights are only those of the people, and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charging-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour: then you will be able to glory in what you have done: you will be the deliverers of this country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds: you will be able to say with pride:—‘ And I too was part of that grand army which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it.’

“ Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country: and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with foreigners to tear the bosom of our country.

“ NAPOLEON.”

At eleven at night Bonaparte issued orders to depart, and mounted on horseback. His small body of troops followed him, drums and music at their head, preceded by four field-pieces, and a superb carriage. He took the route to Cannes, where his advanced guard had arrived some hours before;

Bonaparte arrives at Gap.

but the inhabitants of this place observed a most discouraging silence. From thence he proceeded to Grasse, which he did not enter, as the people did not appear favourable to his views. In order to facilitate his march, he left his cannon and carriage at the gate of this town, and on the evening of the 2nd, arrived at the village of Cerenon, having marched 60 miles in the course of the first day.

On the 5th Bonaparte arrived at Gap, with ten men on horseback, and forty grenadiers. The inhabitants of the Lower Alps seemed to be struck with fear and surprise, and received him very coldly, while some of his men deserted, and others sold their necessaries in order to purchase clothes from the peasants, in which they might escape in disguise, should a reverse of fortune await them. Still, however, Bonaparte pushed on, confident of success, and at Gap several proclamations were issued, amongst which was one addressed to the French nation.

During the stay of Bonaparte at Gap, General Cambronne, with his small advanced guard, met a division of 6000 men coming from Grenoble to stop their march. All parley or communication was refused, as being forbidden. The advanced guard, however, fell back three leagues; Bonaparte repaired to the spot. He sent his orderly officer, Roul, to communicate the intelligence of his arrival, but was again answered by a prohibition. Under these circumstances he alighted; the party opposed being about 800, of which was a battalion of the 5th of

His address to the soldiers.

the line. He advanced, followed by his guard, shouldering their arms ; and making himself known, presented himself to their bayonets. "Soldiers," said he, "you have been told your emperor fears death : the first man who pleases is at liberty to plunge his bayonet into this bosom." An unanimous cry of *Vive l'Empereur !* was their answer. The 5th tore off the white, and with tears of enthusiasm replaced the tri-coloured cockade ; embraced the guard, and immediately placed themselves under his command. This regiment had served with him from his first campaign in Italy.

When they were arranged in order of battle, Bonaparte said to them,—“ I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate ; it has not been raised by the nation : it is contrary to the national will, because it is contrary to the interests of our country, and exists only for the interests of a few families. Ask your fathers, ask all the inhabitants who arrive here from the environs, and you will learn from their own mouths the true situation of affairs ; they are menaced with the return of tithes, of privileges, of feudal rights, and of all the abuses from which your successes had delivered them. Is it not true, peasants ?”—“ Yes, sire,” was their unanimous cry. “ They wish to chain us to the soil—you come, as the angel of the Lord, to save us !”

Notwithstanding the fatigue of Bonaparte, he wished to enter Grenoble that night ; the adjutant

Bonaparte enters Grenoble.

major of the 7th of the line, came to announce that Colonel Labedoyere, deeply disgusted with the dishonour which covered France, had detached himself from the division of Grenoble, and had come with his regiment by a forced march, to meet Bonaparte. Half an hour afterwards, this brave regiment doubled the force of the imperial troops. At nine in the evening Bonaparte made his entry into the Faubourg de ———.

On the approach of Bonaparte to Grenoble, the national guard, and the whole population of the city, were placed in the rear of the garrison, and made the air ring with shouts of *Vive l' Empereur!* They opened the gates, and at ten at night Bonaparte entered, in the midst of an army and a people animated by the most lively enthusiasm.

The troops appointed for the defence of Grenoble consisted of the 3d regiment of engineers, 2000 in number, all old soldiers covered with wounds; of a regiment of artillery, in which Bonaparte had been a captain 25 years before; and of other battalions of the 5th and 11th of the line, and the hussars of the 4th, all of whom had previously shared the dangers and glory of Bonaparte.

On the following day the emperor was addressed by the municipality and all the departmental authorities. The military chiefs and the magistrates expressed their unanimous sentiments. They said, that princes imposed by a foreign force were not legitimate princes, and that they were not bound by any engagement to princes for whom the nation had

Bonaparte's advance upon Lyons.

no wish. At two Bonaparte reviewed the troops, in the midst of the population of the whole department, shouting, *A bas les Bourbons ! A bas les ennemis du peuple ! Vive l'Empereur et un gouvernement de notre choix !* The garrison of Grenoble immediately afterwards put itself in a forced march to advance upon Lyons. It is a remark that has not escaped observers, that every one of these 6000 men were provided with a national cockade, and each with an old and used cockade, for, in discontinuing their tri-coloured cockade, they had hidden it at the bottom of their knapsacks : not one was purchased, at least in Grenoble. It is the same, said they, in passing before Bonaparte, that we wore at Austerlitz. This, said the others, we had at Marengo.

The crowd, and the enthusiasm with it, if possible, increased as Bonaparte advanced. " We have expected you a long time," said the inhabitants of Bourgoin, where he slept on the 9th. " You have at length arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the noblesse, the pretensions of the priests, and the shame of a foreign yoke." From Grenoble to Lyons the march of Bonaparte was nothing but a triumph. He was in his carriage, procèding at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants singing songs. " Ah," said Bonaparte, " I find here the sentiments which for twenty years induced me to greet France with the name of the Grand Nation ; yes, you are still the Grand Nation, and you shall always be so." The Count D'Artois, the Duc d'Orleans, and several marshals had arrived at

Bonaparte's flattering reception at Lyons.

Lyons. Money had been distributed to the troops, and promises to the officers. They wished to break down the bridge de la Guillotiere and the bridge Moraud. Bonaparte gave orders, however, to General Bertrand to assemble the boats at Misbel. At four a reconnoissance of the 4th hussars arrived at la Guillotiere, and were received with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* The passage of the Misbel was countermanded, and Bonaparte advanced at a gallop upon Lyons, at the head of the troops which were to have defended it against him. The Count d'Artois mounted his carriage and quitted Lyons, escorted by a single gen d'arme. At nine o'clock at night Bonaparte traversed the Guillotiere without troops, but surrounded by an immense population.

On the 11th, he reviewed the whole division of Lyons, having General Broyer at their head, and put them in march to advance upon the capital.—The sentiments which the inhabitants of this great city, and the peasants of the vicinity, during the space of two hours, evinced towards Bonaparte, were such, that, says a witness, it was impossible for him to express his feeling otherwise than by saying, “People of Lyons, I love you.” On the 13th, at three in the afternoon, Bonaparte arrived at Villefranche, a little town of 4000 souls, which included at that moment more than 60,000. He stopped at the Hotel de Ville. A great number of wounded soldiers were presented to him.—He entered Macon at seven o'clock in the evening, always surrounded by the people of the neighbouring districts.

He arrives at Chalons, and receives a deputation.

At Chalons, which during 40 days resisted the force of the allies, and defended the passage of the Saone, Bonaparte took notice of all the instances of valour; and not being able to visit St. Jean-de-Lone, he sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the mayor of that city. On that occasion Bonaparte exclaimed,—“It is for you, brave people, that I have instituted the Legion of Honour, and not for emigrants pensioned by our enemies.” Bonaparte received at Chalons the deputation of the town of Dijon. On the 15th he slept at Autun: from Autun he went to Avallon, and slept there on the night of the 16th. On the 17th, Bonaparte breakfasted at Vermanton, and went to Auxerre, where the prefect remained faithful to his post.—The 14th had trampled under foot the white cockade. Bonaparte likewise heard that the 6th regiment of lancers had also mounted the tri-coloured cockade. At Auxerre, Count Bertrand, Major General, gave orders to collect all the boats to embark the army, which was already four divisions strong, and to convey them the same night to Fossard, so that they would be able to arrive at one o'clock in the morning at Fontainebleau. Before he left Auxerre, Bonaparte was rejoined by the Prince of Moskwa. This marshal had mounted the tri-coloured cockade among all the troops under his command.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 20th, he entered Fontainebleau, having with him 15,000 veteran troops: other flanking divisions were advancing to support him on the right and left of his line of

Preparations for an expected rencounter at Fontainbleau.

march. Early on the morning of the 21st, preparations were made on both sides. On that of the Bourbons, the rencounter was expected on the plains of Melun, where the national guard of 100,000 was drawn up, *en etages*, as the ground favoured the position, in three lines : the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries; the centre occupying the road to Paris. The ground from Fontainbleau to Melun is a continued declivity, so that on emerging from the forest you have a clear view of the country in front; while, on the other hand, those below, can easily discern whatever appears on the eminence.

An awful silence, broken only at times by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops, by repeating the royal airs, “ *Henri Quatre*,” and “ *La Belle Grabielle* ;” or by the voice of the commanders, and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king’s army. All was anxious expectation; the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops perhaps secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainbleau, no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard. If the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached. An open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest : it drove down the hills with the

The king's troops join Bonaparte.

rapidity of lightning ; it reached the advanced posts —“ Long live the Emperor !” burst from the astonished soldiery ; “ Napoleon, Napoleon the Great !” spread from rank to rank ; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course ; now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called “ his friends, his companions in arms ; whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore.” At these words, and at the voice and the sight of him who uttered them, the commanders-in-chief appointed to oppose him, lost all command, all authority, all power, and took flight ; thousands rushed on his passage ; acclamations rent the air. At that moment his own guard descended ; the imperial march was sounded ; the eagles once more displayed ; and those whose deadly weapons were to have been aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in the universal shout.

It was not until the 5th of March that intelligence was received at Paris of the landing of Napoleon. Louis XVIII. immediately issued a proclamation announcing the event, declaring him to be a traitor and a rebel, and ordering him to be apprehended, that he might be punished according to the law.— The same punishment was denounced against the military, and all other persons of whatever rank, who should accompany, follow, or in any way assist Bonaparte in his invasion of France, unless they submitted within eight days. The two chambers of the legislature, which had been prorogued on the

Measures adopted for the public safety.

31st of December, 1814, to the 1st of May following, were immediately convened; the national guards were called out; and such other measures were adopted as the public safety appeared to require.—Monsieur, the king's brother, and the Duke of Orleans, accompanied by Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, were dispatched to Lyons, in order to assemble troops, and put that city into a state of defence; and at the same time, all the other marshals and generals, who were employed in the departments, received orders to proceed to their respective commands, and immediately departed.

The royal ordinance was strengthened by the following order of the day from the ministry of war :

ORDER OF THE DAY.

To the Army.

SOLDIERS!—The man who so lately abdicated, in the face of all Europe, an usurped power of which he made so fatal a use, Bonaparte, has landed on the soil of France—a soil to which he should have never returned. What does he want? Civil war! Who desires it? Traitors. Where shall we find them? Should it be among the soldiers whom he has deceived and sacrificed so many times! Should it be in the bosoms of those families whom his very name is sufficient to affright? Bonaparte mistakes us enough to believe, that we can abandon a legitimate and well-beloved sovereign, to partake the fate of a man who is no more than an adventurer. He believes it! What stupidity! and his last act of madness places it beyond doubt.

Soldiers! the French army is the bravest in Europe.—It will prove itself also the most faithful. Let us then rally round the banner of the Lily, to the voice of the father of his people, of the worthy inheritor of the virtues of Henry IV. He has prescribed to you the duties you have to fulfil. He has put at your head a

The king's address to the chamber of deputies.

prince, the model of French chivalry, whose blessed return to our country has chased away the usurper, and who this day goes by his presence to destroy his last and only hope.

Paris, March 8.

DALMATIA.

Immense crowds, it was said, assembled in the court of the Thuilleries, and the air resounded with the repeated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* Upwards of 40,000 citizens volunteered their services to oppose the usurper, and the whole nation was represented as being ready to defend with their lives the throne of their beloved king, from the invasion of the tyrant; whose situation was described as the most wretched and miserable.

When the defection of the troops sent to intercept Bonaparte in the south, was heard, the king, on the 16th, repaired in state to the chamber of deputies, where, being placed on the throne, he spoke in the following terms:

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into a part of the kingdom, and threatens the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the state. I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes. I have visited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations, who will, without doubt, maintain, with the utmost fidelity, those treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit of my people; I have received, and still continue daily to receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I, then, at 60 years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence? Therefore, I fear nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes to light again amongst us the torch of civil war, brings with

Effect of the king's address described.

him also the scourge of foreign war; he comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke; he comes, in short, to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given you. That charter, my brightest title in the estimation of posterity. That charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry IV. will be the first to range themselves under it; they will be followed by all good Frenchmen. In short, Gentlemen, let the concurrence of the two chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove, by its happy termination, what a great nation, united in its love to its king and its laws, can effect."

"There are some impressions," says a French writer, who describes this scene, "which the pen dares not trace for fear of weakening them. The firm tone, the calm expression, the energetic and serene physiognomy of our august monarch, conveyed to all hearts at once confidence and emotion, admiration and respect. The whole assembly, electrified by the sublime language of the king, stood up, their hands stretched towards the throne. Nothing but these words were heard, *Long live the King! we will die for the King! the King in life and death!* repeated with a transport which all French hearts will participate at this feeble recital of a scene the most touching and the most honourable to the national character."

The most active measures continued to be pursued, in order to defend the Bourbon throne. Marshal Soult, the minister of war, against whom the public voice was raised, having resigned his office, his majesty conferred the porte-feuille of the war depart-

Preparations for the defence of Paris.

ment on the Duke de Feltre, who had held that charge under Bonaparte, up to the time of the restoration; and this determination of the king was fully justified by the fidelity of the duke.

No other course could now be adopted, but that of retrograding the troops; as, in advancing towards the enemy, they furnished him almost everywhere with auxiliaries. It was determined, therefore, to form a corps d'armee before Paris, by collecting together as great a number as possible of the national guards and volunteers: of this army the Duke de Berri was appointed general, on the 11th, and Marshal Macdonald, on his arrival, was charged with the command of it under that prince. But the orders issued for organizing the volunteers and moveable columns of the national guards, could not arrive at their destination, or be carried into execution for some days, while every moment brought with it fresh danger. Bonaparte having quitted Lyons on the 12th, advanced with a rapidity of which he felt all the advantages. Several regiments that were unavoidably near the line of his march, joined him; some even took several towns in Burgundy; and two of them advanced to Auxerre.

Preparations continued to be made for the defence of Paris, but with little hope of ultimate success, from the more than doubtful fidelity of the guard: and the intelligence received there on the 17th of March, of Marshal Ney's defection, rendered the reliance to be placed on these preparations the less certain. When taking leave of his sove-

Sens declares its incapability of making any resistance.

reign on the 11th, he quitted the royal presence with an assurance, that "if he should subdue the enemy of the king and of France, he would bring him prisoner in an iron cage." So early, however, as the 13th, he issued a proclamation at Lons le Saulnier, addressed to the officers and soldiers under his command, in which he declared that the cause of the Bourbons was for ever lost. "The lawful dynasty," said he, "which the French nation has adopted, is about to ascend the throne. It is to the Emperor Napoleon alone, our sovereign, that the right belongs of reigning over our fine country. Soldiers! I have often led you to victory; I will now lead you to join that immortal phalanx which the Emperor Napoleon is conducting to Paris, and which will be there in a few days; and there our hopes and happiness will be for ever realized."—Conformably to these calculations, he marched to Auxerre, where he joined Napoleon, who arrived at that place on the 17th, having previously traversed Macon, Tournus, and Autun.

The news, which spread through the departments nearest the capital, produced the utmost terror.—The town of Sens, which was expected to have stopped the progress of Bonaparte, declared itself incapable of making any resistance: the troops in Paris were all disaffected, and the only course which the king could pursue was, to retire with the household troops, on whose fidelity alone he could rely. Having sent the Duke de Bourbon to the Western Departments, and transmitted to the Duke D'An-

Louis quits Paris, and Bonaparte enters.

gouleme, the powers necessary for arming the Southern Departments, his majesty quitted Paris at midnight, on the 19th of March, and proceeded by way of Abbeville to Lille, with the intention of fixing his head-quarters there; but the defection of the garrison of that fortress, compelled the king to relinquish his design; and by the persuasion of Marshal Mortier, the governor, he proceeded to Ostend, and thence to Ghent, which city he ultimately made his residence. To the honour of the marshal, it ought to be recorded, that notwithstanding an order had been transmitted to him, unknown to Louis XVIII. to arrest him, and all the princes, —he disregarded the mandate of Napoleon, and thus saved the life of his sovereign.

On the 20th of March, at four o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte entered Fontainebleau: there he learned that the Bourbons had quitted Paris, and that the capital was free. With his accustomed superstition for particular days, he remembered also that this was the birth-day of his son; he therefore departed immediately for Paris, and arrived at the palace of the Thuilleries in the evening of the same day. Thus, in the space of three weeks, did this daring soldier transfer the seat of empire from his rocky exile to the metropolis of France, without shedding one drop of blood, or meeting with a single obstacle. The rapidity of his march appears a prodigy of which history affords no example: the enterprise seems unparalleled in all that is great and daring, and his pacific triumph bears the stamp

Bonaparte's address to the soldiers of Paris.

of the general assent of the nation. Nor can this conclusion be totally denied, however much may be attributed to military influence.

The shopkeepers of Paris were next morning seen busily employed in changing their signs.—Every where the crested lily disappeared, and the victorious eagle again stretched over the portals his terrific wings. The newspapers, bearing the stamp of the eagle, proclaimed in pompous style, the entry of the Emperor Napoleon on the preceding evening into his capital. The streets were filled with newly arrived troops, who, with the populace, were decorated with a bunch of violets, the badge of fidelity to Bonaparte. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the restored emperor held a review of all the troops that composed the army of Paris. After passing through their ranks, he arranged them in square battalions, and thus addressed them:—

SOLDIERS!

I arrived in France with 600 men, because I calculated on the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectations.

Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hand of strangers; because it was proscribed by the vote of the nation, declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights.

Soldiers! the imperial throne can only secure the rights of the people; and above all, the first of our interests, our glory.

Soldiers! we are now to march, to hunt from our territory these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The

The eagles of the guard produced by General Cambronne.

French people and I calculate upon you. *We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations*; but wo to those who shall interfere with ours.

General Cambronne, and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, at this instant appeared, with the ancient eagles of the guard; and the Emperor continued:

These are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes; every man is my friend; they are all dear to my heart. Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army; for among these 600 noble fellows are men from every regiment; they have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear; for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles! In loving them, it was you, soldiers, the whole French army, that I loved! They bring you back your eagles! Let them serve as a rallying point. In giving them to the guard, I give them to the whole army. Treason and unhappy events have covered them with a melancholy veil; but thanks to the French people, and to you, they now re-appear, glittering in their glory! Swear that they shall be present wherever the interest of the country may require them; that traitors, and those who would invade our territory, shall never be able to endure their sight.

Bonaparte chooses his ministry.

CHAPTER II.

Bonaparte provides himself ministers—Declaration of the congress at Vienna—Measures pursued by Bonaparte to secure a permanency of his power—His letter to the different sovereigns of Europe—Assembly of the Field of May—Makes preparations for the expected contest with the allied powers—Estimate of the French forces—Preparations and estimate of the allied armies.

THE first care of Napoleon after his return, was to provide himself with ministers. The Prince Arch-Chancellor was appointed Minister of Justice. The Duke of Gaete, Minister of Finances. The Duke of Bassano, Secretary of State. The Duke Decres, Minister of Marine and Colonies. The Duke of Otranto, Minister of General Police.—The Comte Mollien, Minister of the Imperial Treasury. Marshal Prince D'Eckmuhl, Minister of War. The Duke de Rovigo, Principal Inspector General of Gendarmerie. The Comte de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine. The Counsellor of State, M. Rial, Minister of Police.

Addresses poured in from all quarters of France, congratulating the Emperor on his resumption of that throne to which the wishes of the whole nation had called him; and his appearance in Paris was hailed with the loudest acclamations.

The return of Bonaparte was not beheld with indifference by the allied sovereigns, whose armies were yet hovering on the confines of France. No sooner was his entrance into that country with an

Declaration of the congress at Vienna.

armed force known at Vienna, than the British, Russian, Austrian, Prussian, French, Swedish, Spanish, and Portuguese plenipotentiaries, then assembled in congress, on the 13th of March, united in a declaration in the name of their respective sovereigns. In this important state paper they announced, that Bonaparte, having violated that convention which had established him in the isle of Elba, had destroyed the only legal tie on which his existence depended; and that, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of the protection of law, and had manifested to the universe, that there could be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declared, that Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the public tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

The allied sovereigns at the same time declared, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty (as well as those on which they had already determined, or should hereafter determine), to complete and consolidate it, they would unite all their means, and all their efforts, in order that the general peace might not be again disturbed; and further, to guarantee it against every attempt which should threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolution.

Although Bonaparte was once more seated on the

Bonaparte's measures for securing his power.

imperial throne of France by the concurrence of the people, yet he was not ignorant of the nature of the dreadful contest that must ensue, before his title would be admitted by the allied sovereigns; he was fully aware that the devoted attachment of the soldiery alone would not consolidate his power, and that it was only by reviving the enthusiasm of the nation in favour of liberty, and securing to his interest the able actors in the revolution, that he could hope successfully to oppose the inroads of the allied powers. He accordingly declared, as soon as he landed upon the French coast, his determination to return to the original principles of the revolution: and it was to this declaration that his wonderful success is chiefly to be attributed.

Immediately after Bonaparte's arrival at the Thuilleries, he issued several decrees, annulling every measure and regulation of Louis, and promised to give to France a constitutional charter, in which the liberty of the people should be the most prominent feature. The council of state promulgated the principles of the regenerated government: in the preamble of the declaration it was stated, that 'The sovereignty resides in the people, and that the people is the only lawful source of power; that in Bonaparte that authority had been invested, and consecrated by nearly four millions of votes. That the Bourbons were strangers to the laws, institutions, and manners; having ceased to reign in France for twenty-two years, and were unknown to the present generation; they were only remembered

The council make known the principles of the new government.

by the wars they had excited against the country, and the internal discords they had occasioned.

‘ The sole object of the emperor’s abdication,’ said the council, ‘ was to avoid civil war and the effusion of blood, and was the result only of the unhappy situation to which he, as well as France, had been reduced by the events of war and by treason.

‘ This act could not destroy the solemn engagements formed between the emperor and the people ; for the people had not sanctioned it by their votes : and though Napoleon might have been able to abdicate the crown personally, he could not sacrifice the rights of his son, called to reign after him.

‘ In again ascending the throne to which the people had raised him, the emperor,’ continued the council, ‘ re-establishes their most sacred rights.— He is called to sanction anew by institutions, (and he has taken the engagement in his proclamation to the nation and to the army to do so,) all liberal principles, personal liberty, and the equality of rights ; the freedom of the press, liberty of worship, the vote of taxes by the commons, national property, the independence of courts of justice, and the responsibility of ministers, and of every agent of the executive power. Such are the principles by which the council of state decides that the nation shall be governed, and such the conditions laid on him whom the people are said to have called to govern them. But,’ continue the council, ‘ we order for the more effectual preservation of the rights and obligations of the people, that the na-

Convocation of the assembly of the national representatives.

tional institutions, be renewed in a great assembly, already convoked by the emperor.'

The assembly here alluded to, was to consist of the electors from every department of the empire; the immediate representatives of the people in primary assemblies, and whose votes were to be regarded as their voice. This extraordinary convocation was to be termed the *Field of May*, and would comprehend about 25,000 electors.

In the early periods of French history, it was the practice of the sovereigns to convoke the feudal chieftains in a solemn council, in the *Champ de Mars*, whence these meetings derived their name: in imitation of which, Napoleon had issued a decree from Lyons, convoking the assembly of the *Field of May*, for the settlement of the constitution. Various circumstances had caused this meeting to be repeatedly postponed. At length the first of June was fixed for the celebration of this festival, which it was announced would probably equal the famous federation of the year 1790.

In the mean time, Bonaparte addressed the following letter to the different sovereigns of Europe :

Paris, April 4, 1815.

SIRE, MY BROTHER,—You have, no doubt, learnt, in the course of the last month, my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of those events must now be made known to your majesty.

They are the results of an irresistible power, the results of the unanimous wish of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people,

Bonaparte's letter to the sovereigns of Europe.

was not fitted for it: the Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments nor manners—France has therefore separated herself from them: her voice called for a liberator: the hopes which induced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her, have been deceived:—I came; and from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.

The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great success.

A more brilliant arena is now open to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalry in future but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.

France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations. If such then, as I trust they are, be the personal sentiments of your majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, will, of herself, be sufficient to guard the frontiers.

I am, &c. &c.

The couriers charged with this remarkable communication, were all stopped on the frontiers, and arrested; but the officer sent to the English court succeeded in delivering his master's pacific overtures to Lord Castlereagh, but was instantly dismissed.

Proclamations of the allied powers circulated through France.

with the declaration that the Emperor Napoleon was not known by the British ministry. Distinct treaties were made between the different allied powers, by which it was agreed, that 640,000 men should march against France, Great Britain engaging to pay a sum to each power, proportionate to its exertions.

The proclamations and declarations of the allied powers were secretly circulated through France, by the counsellors of Bonaparte themselves; in the hope that by reducing him to a state of dependence on the opinion of the people, he might be compelled to give up many sovereign prerogatives. His counsel-chamber became the scene of vehement contention, and he was at length induced to conciliate the attachment of the council of state, by a solemn promise to abide by their wishes and advice in the formation of a new constitution. Having thus divided their strength, and lulled their suspicion, he took advantage of their apathy, fled from the Thuilleries, seized possession of the impregnable palais Bourbon, surrounded by a body of his guard, and published the outline of a new constitution of his own arrangement, under the title of "an additional act." Independent of the arbitrary doctrines it contained, the mode of promulgation without the sanction of any public body, was evidently dangerous to national freedom: the people, who had been elated by hopes of the most sanguine kind, witnessed the publication of so arbitrary a document with aversion, and waited with impatience an oppor-

Assembly of the Field of May.

tunity to express their disapprobation in the Field of May. But Napoleon was well aware of the danger that might arise from the assemblage of a deliberating mass of from 20,000 to 30,000 citizens. It was declared that no travelling expenses should be granted to the electors, and that the constitutional act should not be discussed. Votes were taken at the town-houses and other places under the influence of the emperor, instead of personal attendance; and all mayors, municipal officers, and other individuals obnoxious to Bonaparte, were deprived of their official stations.

On the 1st of June, the grand assembly of the *Field of May* took place in the *Champ de Mars*.—The emperor's throne was erected in the front of the military school, and in the centre of a vast semi-circular enclosure, two-thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated: the other third, in front of the throne, was open. An altar was erected in the middle; and further on was placed another throne, which overlooked the whole *Champ de Mars*. The emperor having arrived, took his seat on the throne: mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by Cardinal Bayanne, and four other bishops. This service concluded, the members of the central deputation of the electoral colleges, about 500 in number, advanced to the foot of the throne: one of the members of the deputation, elector and representative of the department of the Marne and Loire, pronounced with a loud voice

The representatives' address to the Emperor.

the following address, in the name of the French people:—

SIRE,

The French people had decreed the crown to you; you deposed it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.

A new contract is formed between the nation and your majesty. Collected from all points of the empire, around the tables of the law, on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people, that wish which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate organs, not to say in the presence of Europe, to the august Chief of the nation, what we expect from him, and what he is to expect from it.

What is the object of the league of allied kings with that war-like preparation by which they alarm Europe, and afflict humanity? By what act, what violation, have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression?

Have we, since peace was concluded, endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners.

We will not have the chief whom our enemies would give us, and we will have him whom they wish us not to have.

They dare to proscribe you personally; you, sire, who, so often master of their capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you.—Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the ægis of French law and power.

They menace us with invasion! And yet contracted within frontiers which nature has not imposed upon us, and which long before your reign, victory and even peace had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass that narrow boundary.

Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all in our insti-

The acte additionel accepted.

tutions, and in the will of the French people, henceforth united to yours.

Do they not dread to remind us of times, of a state of things lately so different, but which may still be re-produced?

It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe, armed against us.

Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered? and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us? It is in vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in order to give us masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their name. They could not believe our oaths, neither could we their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us, was too evidently the fond object of their thought, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants, that he *would answer them for the future.*

Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We declare it to nations: may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration, for grounds of consolation for the sacrifices made to obtain peace: but if we are left no choice, but between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war. The nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have, perhaps, made, in order to save Europe from a new convulsion.—Every Frenchman is a soldier. Victory will follow your eagles, and our enemies who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us.

The result of the votes was then proclaimed by the Arch-Chancellor, and the Chief Herald at Arms cried out,

In the name of his majesty I declare, that the *acte additionel* to the Constitution of the Empire, has been accepted by the French people.

Bonaparte's address to the assembly of the Champ de Mai.

The emperor then addressed the assembly in the following speech:—

GENTLEMEN, Deputies of the army and navy at the *Champ de Mai*:

Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I derive all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions.

Like the king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in hopes of realizing the promise given to preserve to France her national integrity, her honours, her rights.

Indignation at seeing those sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victory, disavowed and lost for ever; the cry of French honour, and the wishes of the nation, replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people.

Frenchmen! In traversing, amidst the public joy, the different provinces of the empire, to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties, concluded by their government, whatever they may be.

My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of re-establishing our liberty, by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai*.

I soon learned, that the princes who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing the kingdom of the Netherlands, by giving it, as barriers, all our northern frontier places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exist among them by dividing Lorraine and Alsace.

It was necessary to provide for war. But before personally encountering the hazards of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the act which I have presented to them.

Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights

Swears to observe the constitution.

and independence of twenty-eight millions of people, a solemn law drawn up in the form required by the Constitutional act, shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed.

Frenchmen! you are about to return to your departments; inform the citizens of the grandeur of our circumstances; that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from this contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct, and that a nation has lost all when she has lost her independence. Tell them that foreign kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns; who all, during my prosperity, sought my alliance, and the protection of the French people, now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence against which they show themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be inefficient.

Frenchmen! my wish is that of the people, my rights are theirs, my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France.

The Archbishop of Bourges then approached the throne, and on his knees presented the holy Gospel to the Emperor, who took the oath in the following terms:

“ I swear to observe, and cause to be observed, the constitution of the empire.”

The Prime Chancellor then advancing to the foot of the throne, first pronounced the oath of obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to the emperor. The assembly, with one unanimous voice, repeated, “ We swear.” *Te Deum* was chanted; and the

Bonaparte presents to the guards the eagles and colours.

Presidents of the Electoral Colleges advanced to receive the eagles for the national guards of their departments. The emperor having laid his imperial robe aside, then came forward, and thus addressed them:—

Soldiers of the national guard of the empire, soldiers of the land and sea forces, I intrust to you the Imperial Eagle, with the national colours; you will swear to defend it at the expense of your blood, against the enemies of the country and of my throne. You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign! You swear it!

The assembly resounded with cries of, “We swear.” Bonaparte then, surrounded by the eagles of all the armed corps, thus spoke:

Soldiers of the national guard of Paris, soldiers of the imperial guard, I intrust to you the Imperial Eagle with the national colours. You swear to die, if necessary, in its defence, against the enemies of the country and the throne. You swear never to acknowledge any other rallying sign. You, soldiers of the national guard, swear never to permit foreigners again to stain the capital of the Great Nation. To your courage I shall intrust it. And you, soldiers, of the imperial guard, swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign which is about to open, and to die rather than permit foreigners to dictate laws to your country.

The acclamations, the shouts of “We swear it!” resounded again, and were repeated throughout the whole extent of the Champ de Mars.

The troops amounted to 50,000 men, of whom 27,000 were national guards. They defiled before the emperor, shouting, *Vive l' Empereur!* amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who covered the hills of the Champ de Mars to

The population invited to take up arms.

the Seine. The emperor then returned through the apartments of the Military School.

No part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparation, exhibits such a display of activity, as the brief interval which occurred between his resuming the imperial throne, and his second abdication. Although the conciliating of the Liberalists, and the paralysing of the Royalists, occupied some time; and although it was necessary to sacrifice some days to show, and to the national love of spectacle, he was never an instant diverted from his purpose.

Every effort was used to excite the population to assume a warlike attitude, and to move forward corps of national guards, who might relieve in garrison the troops of the line now called into active service. At the moment when he was invoking the *Champ de Mai*, a mock assembly of the people, and was acting before the nominal representatives of the nation a political comedy,—the real tragedy was in active preparation.

On the 7th of June, the emperor went in high military pomp to instal the legislature. In his speech he congratulated the members on the commencement of a constitutional monarchy, and urged them to imitate the senate of a great people of antiquity, by swearing ‘to die, rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France.’ This event was celebrated in Paris, by illuminations, fireworks, &c.

M. Lanjuinais named President of the Chamber of Representatives.

The first act of the Chamber of Representatives, was the nomination of M. Lanjuinais, as president.* This choice clearly proved the independence of the assembly, for M. Lanjuinais had always evinced the most rooted aversion to Bonaparte, even when in the zenith of his glory. The emperor, however, acceded to the choice, and received the addresses of both houses.

Cannon, muskets, arms of every description, were forged, and issued from the manufactories and

* Lanjuinais, who has been elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, previous to the Revolution, was an advocate of very distinguished reputation at Rennes, in Britany, and he was appointed by this province, in 1789, a Deputy to the States General.

Soon after the meeting of that body, he projected the plan of the *Ereton*, since known under the name of the Jacobin Club, and by this single act may be said to have been the remote cause of all those eventful transactions which have since agitated France and all Europe.

On the dissolution of the National Assembly, Lanjuinais retired to Rennes; but on the calling of the National Convention, he was appointed a deputy to it.

In this turbulent body he remained inactive till the proscription of the Brissotins. Conceiving that from this period the representatives would be controlled by the Parisian cut-throats, he, with 72 others, united in a strong protest. A decree of accusation was, in consequence, passed against them, and those who scorned to fly, of which Lanjuinais was one, were committed to prison. It is well known, that after the overthrow of Robespierre, they were all restored to their seats in the legislature.

His sufferings tended only to increase the esteem in which he was before held by his colleagues; till the dissolution of the Con-

Old corps recruited—Retired veterans called up—New levies instituted.

arsenals with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited from the conscripts of 1814; retired veterans were again called forth to their banners; new levies were instituted, under the various names of free corps, federes, and volunteers; the martial spirit of France was again roused to hope and energy; and the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the leader and soul. One large army defiled towards Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the

vention, therefore, he was considered as one of the leading members. He was first chosen president, afterwards voted into the committee of legislation, which was appointed for the purpose of forming a new Republican Constitution, and has always been considered as one of the most able, upright, and active of the French legislators.

Lanjuinais continued to sit in the new assembly, as a member of the Council of Ancients, and proved the constant censor of the Council of Five Hundred, when any law was proposed, inconsistent with the principles of justice and public utility. He firmly opposed the decree for sequestrating the estates of the relations of emigrants, and his speech contained the following laudable sentiment: "Know, my countrymen," said he, "that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us.—Let us prove ourselves just, and demonstrate, that in the course of the revolution, we have been always led away by error, and never by crime."

On the renewal of the last third, it was the lot of Lanjuinais to return to the station of a private citizen. He carried with him the esteem of all rational Republicans.

Lanjuinais is (1799) about 60 years of age, of a middle size, very thin visage, and not handsome. He is reputed to be a firm believer in the tenets of Christianity; and on all occasions has shown himself a friend to religious toleration.

Defeat of Murat's army—Bonaparte's expectations disappointed.

English and Prussian troops excited alarm; other armies were assembled in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Franche Compté, at the foot of the Alps, and on the verge of the Pyrenees. It only remained to be discovered on which side the storm was to burst.

Bonaparte, reckoning upon the co-operation of Murat, or hoping at least that he would make a permanent diversion, had destined the north of Italy for the first scene of active and personal warfare. A threat in that quarter would have been sufficient to divert from the main struggle the whole force of Austria, already sensible, from sad experience, how vulnerable she was through her Italian frontier.—Many of the Russian troops would probably have been detached to her assistance, and while a triple barrier of fortresses and garrisons of the first order, with a strong covering army, was opposed on the frontiers of Flanders to the English and Prussian armies, Bonaparte himself might have taken the field, on the theatre of his original triumphs, and have removed the war from the French territory with the certainty of success. But Austria, on this occasion of pressing alarm, exerted herself with an activity unknown to her annals; and the troops which she rapidly moved forward to meet Murat, exhibited, in the first conflict, the military superiority of the northern warriors. The Neapolitan army fled with such celerity, and so little resistance, that the campaign was ended almost as soon as it began; and their commander sought refuge in France, unsuspecting of the fate which so soon

A brief account of the ex-king of Naples.

awaited him.* The discomfiture was attended by the most disadvantageous consequences to Bonaparte, who was at this moment threatened by hostile armies advancing from all sides, and compelled to

* Joachim Murat was born in Dauphiny, in the year 1764.—He was of very low extraction, his father being originally a water-carrier in Paris, who afterwards joined himself to a gang of smugglers and coiners, and was tried and broken upon the wheel at Valence, in the year 1769. Young Murat was sent to the orphan house at Lyons, where he remained until an actor took him as an errand boy. From 1780 to 1786, he appeared upon the stage in subordinate characters. He afterwards enlisted as a private soldier in a regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allemagne*, from which he deserted to the republican army, entered the national guard, and was made a corporal; he was shortly raised to a lieutenancy, by Santerre, and was one of those who, on the 30th of June, 1792, insulted his sovereign in the castle of the 'Tuilleries, where he was heard to say, "Louis, thou art a traitor, we must have thy head." The next day Santerre advanced him to be his aide-de-camp. His next patron was Marat, who promoted him to a colonelcy. In the army sent against the Loyalists in Britany, he was made general of brigade. In 1794, he was appointed to the army of the Alps; and when Bonaparte took the command of that army in 1796, he became his particular favourite, and was employed in all his confidential affairs. When Bonaparte was sent to Egypt, Murat accompanied him, and he returned with his patron from thence when he deserted his army. He was particularly serviceable to Bonaparte in elevating him to the consulship; who, in return, gave him his sister Caroline in marriage. Having quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Lucien Bonaparte, he challenged, fought, and wounded him. When Bonaparte meditated the seizure of the crown of Spain for his brother Joseph, he conferred the vacant throne of Naples upon Murat. After the annihilation of the Neapolitan army, Murat fled to Toulon, and thence took refuge

Perseverance and activity of Bonaparte in his preparations.

await the conflict on his own ground. But the disaster of Murat neither discouraged Bonaparte, nor prevented him from proceeding with the greatest expedition in his preparations for the approaching

in Corsica, where he became very turbulent, and it was doubtful whether he did not intend to possess himself of the sovereignty of the island. On the 28th of September, an Austrian commissioner arrived at Corsica, from the Emperor of Austria, offering him an asylum in the emperor's dominions, on condition of his taking a private station. Murat, whose expectations of regaining his lost dignity, appears to have turned his brain, treated the commissioner with arrogance, complained of want of respect, and promised an answer in diplomatic form. This answer was actually received, but not till Murat had effected his escape. For, on the night of the 29th of September, he, together with General Francheschini, Colonel Natali, a number of officers, and about 200 men, embarked on board six small vessels, and set sail for the kingdom of Naples. A storm having dispersed this flotilla, four of the vessels fell into the hands of the Neapolitan cruisers, and two only, with Murat on board, arrived safely on the coast of Calabria, on the 8th of October. From these the ex-king, with Gen. Francheschini, and about thirty persons, made good their landing on the same day at a place called Pizzo, within a league of Maida. Proceeding to the market-place, he harangued the inhabitants, proclaimed himself their king, and distributed proclamations; he then marched off towards Monteleone. But the people of Pizzo, and the neighbouring country, although at first stupified with the rashness of the attempt, soon recovered from their apathy, and perceiving the insignificance of their number, pursued the rebels from every side. Murat, finding himself surrounded, determined to cut his way through his opponents, and return to his vessels. An obstinate conflict arose for a short time, but Murat and his men were overpowered by numbers, and were made prisoners. All this took place on the 8th, the day of landing; and the intelligence being

French head-quarters fixed at Laon.—Execution of Murat.

contest. The French grand army, already in the highest order, was greatly augmented in numbers and equipments. Flanders, on the adjoining French frontier, it was now obvious, must be the scene of action.

The general head-quarters were fixed at Laon, where preparations were made for forming an army of reserve in case of a disaster. The first corps occupied Valenciennes, and the second Maubeuge; communicating by their right wing with the armies assembled in the Ardennes and on the Moselle, and resting their left on the strong fortifications of Lille. Here they waited the numerous reinforcements of every kind which Bonaparte poured towards their position. The deficiency of artillery was chiefly apprehended. The allies had, in 1814, carried off most of the French field trains. But the loss was

conveyed to Naples by telegraph, orders were received for trying Murat by a military commission at Pizzo.

On the 13th of October, at 5 in the evening, he was summoned before a court martial, and at 6 o'clock he was shot. He affected a great degree of fortitude: but on approaching the place appointed for the execution of the fatal sentence, his apparent firmness failed, and his agitation was very great: he said to the officers around, that they ought to await the decision of the allied powers. However, finding all was lost, his vanity came to his assistance, and, asking those present if they thought he was afraid to die, and refusing to have his eyes covered, gave himself the word "fire!" which was instantly obeyed, and he expired without a groan. It is also stated, that besides Murat, twenty-nine of his companions were shot at the same time.

Estimate and description of the French forces, &c.

more than supplied by the incredible exertions used ; for, besides the usual train attached to separate corps, each division of the army had a park of reserve ; and the imperial guard, in particular, had a fine train of guns, consisting almost entirely of new pieces. The army in all possessed more than three hundred guns.

Another species of force in which Bonaparte was supposed to be peculiarly weak, was cavalry. But the very reverse proved to be the case. The care of Louis XVIII. had re-mounted several of the regiments which had suffered in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814; and the exertions of Napoleon and his officers completed their equipment, as well as the levy of others: so that a finer body of cavalry never took the field. They were upwards of 20,000 in number; of whom the lancers were distinguished by their address, activity, and ferocity; and the cuirassiers, of whom there are said to have been nine regiments, by the excellence of their appointments, and the superior power of their horses.*

* This last corps was composed of soldiers selected for their bravery and experience, and gave the most decisive proofs of both in the dreadful battle of Waterloo. Their cuirasses consisted of a breastplate and back, joined together by clasps, like the ancient plate-armour. Those of the soldiers were of iron, those of the officers of brass, inlaid with steel. They are proof against a musket-ball, unless it comes in a perfectly straight direction. To these arms is added a helmet, with cheek pieces, and their weapons of defence were a long broadsword and pistols. They carried no carabines. The horses of the cuirassiers, although upon trial

Unbounded attachment of the army to Bonaparte.

It was impossible to speak too highly of the infantry in point of bravery and discipline in the field. The *elite* of the army consisted of the Imperial Guards, who were, at least, 20,000 strong. These chosen cohorts had submitted with the most sullen reluctance to the change of sovereigns in 1814; and no indulgence nor flattery, which the members of the Bourbon family could bestow upon them, had availed to eradicate their affection to their former master, which often displayed itself at times, and in a manner particularly offensive to those who were their temporary and nominal commanders. The other corps of infantry, all of whom participated in the same confidence in themselves and their general, might amount, including the artillery, to 110,000 men, which, with the guards and cavalry, formed a gross total of 150,000 soldiers, completely armed and equipped, and supplied, even to profusion, with every kind of ammunition.

It was not on the part of France alone that the most active preparations were made for the approaching conflict. During the months of April and May, and the early part of June, the dreadful note of military preparation continued to sound on every side: the prize which was now to be contested was

they proved inferior to the heavy cavalry of the British, were probably better than those of any other corps in Europe. They were selected with great care, and many of the carriage and saddle-horses, which Bonaparte had pressed for the equipment of the army, were assigned to mount these formidable regiments.

Preparations and dispositions of the allies.

of no ordinary worth: and the chieftains who commanded the allied armies, were men of no vulgar fame in the annals of Europe. The allied armies, five in number, were now advancing simultaneously in every direction. The fruitless diversion in Italy by Murat, had scarcely interrupted the advance of the Austrians from that country: a second Austrian army, meantime, drew towards the Upper Rhine; on the Lower Rhine the Russians and Bavarians were to enter; the Prussians assembled in Flanders to co-operate with the Duke of Wellington, (whom the King of the Netherlands had instituted Field-Marshal of the United States;) and the Spaniards prepared to cross the Pyrenees. The contingents of Denmark, and the minor German States, as soon as they could be organized, were to join themselves to such parts of the combined forces as should require their support. Among all these various nations, England stood foremost in the immensity of her preparations, and in the boundless sacrifices of money which she made to accomplish the great object of dethroning Bonaparte.

It was evidently the design of Napoleon, to surprise the allies by a sudden approach: hence it was, that all the movements of his forces were conducted with a rapidity almost bordering on precipitation.—Threatened as he was, on every side, his only hope of averting the impending storm, was, to strike a blow that should intimidate the allies, and dissolve their coalition. On former occasions he had found this policy successful; and, in the present instance,

Estimate of the Prussian army.

he had avowed his intention of opening the campaign on the Meuse and Sambre, and of breaking the center of the allies. Thus to make his plans public, was in the spirit of his military policy : if the enemy did not believe him, he took them unprepared ; if they gave credit to his declaration, the confidence which it implied, would be likely to depress them as much as it encouraged his own troops. Wellington and Blucher, however, were neither to be deceived nor intimidated : they would willingly have been the assailants, but the allies were to move simultaneously on all points. Bonaparte had necessarily the advance in the preparations, and he had the advantage of choosing both the time and place of attacking them. The allied generals, therefore, could not venture to weaken one part of the long line which they occupied, in order to strengthen another : and thus were certain, that wherever the attack might be made, it would be with a vast superiority of numbers.

The Prussian army extended from the Meuse to the Moselle, and may be estimated at 100,000 men : it consisted of four corps, under Generals Ziethen, Borstel, Bulow, and Thielmann ; Prince Blucher commanding in chief, with Count Gneisenau for his Quarter-Master General. The soldiers were in the highest possible spirits ; never, indeed, were the enthusiasm and antipathy of the Prussians against the French wound up to a higher pitch than on the present occasion. As in 1813, the universities and academical institutions were again deserted ; and

Troops under the immediate command of the Duke of Wellington.

every youth, capable of wielding a sword, or handling a musket, had hastened to the army, to participate in the satisfaction of avenging the sufferings of his country.

The Duke of Wellington had under his immediate command a motley army, of which the British part did not exceed 33,000; the German Legion, which may justly be reckoned equal to our best troops, amounted to 7,000; and 10,000 were Brunswickers, men of tried valour and courage.— These were the only troops in whom he could implicitly confide; the remainder of his army consisted of 20,000 Hanoverians, raw levies that had been trained by British officers, with great care, during the two preceding months; and of about 10,000 Dutch and Belgian troops, who were not so well to be relied on. Of the whole force, which may thus be estimated at about 80,000 men, half were good troops, and half were tolerable: it was divided into two corps d'armee, whose entire line extended from the Meuse to the sea; the first corps, under the command of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, comprised the 1st, 3d, and 5th divisions, which were respectively led in by Generals Cook (of the Guards) Alten, and Picton. The second corps, commanded by General Lord Hill, was composed of the 2nd, 4th, and 6th divisions, the two former of which were under the orders of Sir H. Clinton and General Hinuber; and the latter was nominally under Sir L. Cole, which had not

Total estimate of opposing armies.

yet joined the army. The cavalry consisted of eight brigades, under the command in chief of the Earl of Uxbridge.

According to these estimates, the allied armies in Flanders amounted to about 180,000 men, to whom Napoleon opposed about 150,000; but the numerical superiority of the allies, was more than compensated by the composition of the French army, which consisted wholly of veteran troops, of one nation, and by the advantage which they possessed of choosing their point of attack.

The marches and combination of the various corps d'armee, composing the French forces, were marked in a distinguished manner by that high military talent, which planned Bonaparte's most fortunate campaigns. In the same day, and almost at the same hour, three large armies, that from Laon, headed by the Emperor himself; that of Ardennes, commanded by the notorious Vandamme; and that of the Moselle, under the orders of General Girard, having broken up from their different cantonments, attained, by a simultaneous movement, an united alignement upon the extreme frontiers of Belgium. The good order and combination with which the grand and complicated movements of these large armies were executed, was much admired among the French officers, and received as the happy augury of future success.

Bonaparte leaves Paris to join the army.

CHAPTER III.

Bonaparte leaves Paris—Caution observed in his movements—Joins the army—His proclamation to the soldiers—Takes Charleroi—The Prussians surprised and defeated—Situation of the Duke of Wellington's army—Intelligence received at Brussels of the attack of the French—Departure of the Duke of Wellington and the troops—Confusion and anxiety prevail at Brussels—Various accounts of the Battle—The French army routed, &c.

ON the night of the 11th of June, Bonaparte ordered post-horses, and left Paris for the army, having taken the most jealous precautions for concealing, as long as possible, his movements. For though he expressed great joy at the prospect of meeting the Duke of Wellington, saying, "*Je vais me frotter contre Wellington,*" (I am going to have a brush with Wellington,) he took all imaginable precaution to conceal from Wellington that he was coming. In the course of that evening, he employed himself in writing orders to his ministers; copies of which were taken in the porte-feuille: one or two of these we will extract, together with some notes from his journal.

" To Count Lavalette, Postmaster-General.

" *June 11.*—Monsieur Count Lavalette, as I have said in my speech to day, that I shall set out to-night, I desire that you will take care that no post-horses are furnished on the road I shall take; and that *great circumspection* is used towards those for

Bonaparte's instructions to his ministers, &c.

whom post-horses are furnished on the neighbouring roads; and that no courier or estafette is sent forward."

" To the Minister of Marine.

" June 11.—I suppose you have interrupted all communication by sea, and that no person or packet-boat is permitted to pass any more, under any pretext whatsoever."

" To the Minister at War.

" June 11.—Send for Marshal Massena; if he wishes to repair to Metz, he shall be governor of it, and shall have the superior command of the 3d and 4th divisions."

" To the same.

" June 11.—Let Ney be called. If he wishes to be at the first battle, he must repair on the 13th to Avesnes, where my head-quarters will be."

" June 12.—Set off from Paris, and slept at Laon.

" June 13.—Slept at Avesnes."

" To the Major General.

" Avesnes, June 13.—Give orders for the equipages of the pontoons to repair this evening behind Solre, on the road to Beaumont."

" To the same.

" June 13.—Since General Vandamme is arrived at Beaumont, I do not think it proper to make him return to Philippeville, which would fatigue his troops; I prefer letting this general encamp in the first line, a league and a half from Beaumont; I shall review his troops to-morrow. The 6th corps

 Proclamation to the French army.

will then be placed a quarter of a league behind. In this case, the army of the Moselle will join to-morrow near Philippeville; the detachment of cuirassiers coming from Alsace, will make this change in the general order.

“ To General Drouet.

“ June 13.—Give orders for the division composed of the Chasseurs and Red Lancers, to repair this evening in advance of the Solre. Let all the divisions of chasseurs likewise repair to Solre. All the grenadiers at Avesnes, the grenadiers on horseback, and the dragoons, in advance of Avesnes; each corps will have its artillery with it; the reserve artillery in advance of Avesnes.”

On the 14th, Bonaparte was with his soldiers. The whole of the French army had joined, and formed in line on the extreme frontier; and Napoleon issued the following address, which was read at the head of every regiment:—

GENERAL ORDER.

Avesnes, June 14, 1815.

SOLDIERS!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six!

Advance of the French army.

Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered !

The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations ; they know that this coalition is insatiable ! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

The madmen ! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power.—If they enter France, they will there find their tomb.

Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter ; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours ; —the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered.

To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

NAPOLEON.

This proclamation was received with transports of joy and loud acclamations, by the soldiers : the chiefs were enraptured with the precision of their routes, and recognised, they said, the presence of the *great man* in those scientific combinations, by which all the masses of the army, after encumbering each other's march, seemed all at once to be arranged in line, as if by the effect of magic.

On the 15th, at break of day, this army broke up for the Belgic territory. The second French corps having, in the mean time, effected its passage at Marchienne-au-pont, advanced on Gosselies, a large town on the Brussels road, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the column that had been

Surprise and defeat of the Prussians.

driven out of Charleroi to that point. The Prussians, surprised at the suddenness of the attack, and pursued by the French light troops, retired in good order to Fleurus, in the immediate vicinity of which town, General Ziethen had concentrated the first Prussian corps. He was very warmly attacked by the French, who allowed him no time to take up any new positions. General Ziethen, however, succeeded in maintaining his position near that place. Towards night, Bonaparte returned to his headquarters at Charleroi.

The results of these engagements were, 1000 prisoners, the passage of the Sambre, and the possession of Charleroi: but the most signal advantage derived from them was, the confidence inspired in the French troops, by their obtaining the first success in this campaign. The presence of Napoleon on this day, had so elevated them, that they could not be restrained, but rushed on the Prussians without firing a musket, and charged them so furiously with the bayonet, that nothing could resist their first shock.

The whole French army was now in the territory of Belgium, in the midst of the new subjects of the king of the Netherlands, some of whom welcomed them with loud cries, saying, they only waited for their arrival, to rise *en masse* in favour of their cause. A few groups of peasants met them at the entrance of the villages they passed through, saluting them with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur*; but they were far from being animated with sincere enthusiasm.

Brutality of the French soldiers.

The truth is, they were friends only through fear, and their exclamation may be thus interpreted:—*We are willing to be French subjects if their bayonets give the law; for God's sake, do not plunder us, do not waste our fields; treat us as your countrymen.*

The Belgians had, however, little to expect from the mercy of the French soldiery, whose rapacious dispositions could not be restrained even in their own country. Their march through France had been marked by the most unbounded excesses: houses were plundered under the pretext of searching for provisions, and the inhabitants ill-treated for imploring their forbearance. It is no wonder, therefore, that the supplications of the Belgians were disregarded by those ferocious *brigands*—rapine and devastation every where accompanied them. A village near which they had encamped, exhibited, on their quitting it, a dismal scene of ruin; and the country around, whose smiling fields promised an abundant harvest, was now reduced to a dreary waste. The distraction and despair of the terror-struck women, who, with their half-naked children, in vain attempting to recover their property, completed the picture of wretchedness and misery.

Marshal Blucher had intended to attack the enemy as soon as possible, and, with this view, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the second and third corps, under Generals Thielmann and Borstel, were to arrive on the 15th, and the fourth corps under Bulow.

Position of the Duke of Wellington's army.

on the following day. The Duke of Wellington's army was between Ath and Nivelles, in a position which would enable him to assist the Prussians, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th. But it is evident that the battle was not expected so soon, although the Duke's arrangements were made with a view to any emergency that might arise.—His Grace was at Brussels on the night of the 15th, together with the Duke of Brunswick, the Earl of Uxbridge, and many other distinguished officers, when they received intelligence that the work of death was begun. The principal officers were at a ball, given by the Duchess of Richmond, where they were dancing till midnight; and many of them received their death-wound in their silk stockings and dress shoes.

There has been some blame imputed to the allied commanders for allowing themselves to be taken by surprise, and for not having the whole of their forces more compactly concentrated. But the imputation has not received the sanction of those who are best acquainted with the situation of the country, and military affairs in general. To a certain extent, indeed, it must be admitted, that the rapidity of Bonaparte's advance, enabled him to make the attack to great advantage; yet this advantage arose rather from the nature of the duty which circumstances imposed upon the allies, than from their want of foresight or precaution. It should be considered, that they were obliged to distribute their force, according to their subsistence, and that, if

Intelligence received at Brussels of the attack of the French.

they had concentrated their troops, they would have left open a large portion of the Belgic frontier to invasion on the part of small corps of the enemy.— On the other hand the French commander had an opportunity to direct all his movements at leisure; to choose his point of concentration and points of attack; and to bend his exertions, and to bring in play the valour of his experienced troops, against those parts of the allied line which appeared to him the most vulnerable. Without any disparagement to the allied generals, therefore, he had a great advantage in the onset of the affair. It was also a material point to a person in his situation, while combined movements were made by the allied armies in every quarter for the invasion of France, to bring to action one part of that force before it could be supported by any other. In following up that resolve, he acted with all the decision and energy which distinguished his character, and as soon as his arrangements were fully matured, he executed his movements with more than his usual activity.

The confusion which prevailed at Brussels, on the first news of the attack made on the Prussians, is described in a very lively manner, in a circumstantial detail written by an eye-witness, whose veracity may be relied on. The following is an extract:—

“ On the evening of Thursday, the 15th of June, a courier arrived at Brussels, from Marshal Blucher, to announce that hostilities had commenced. The Duke of Wellington was sitting, after dinner, over the dessert and wine, when he received the dis-

Confusion at Brussels occasioned by the news.

patches containing this unexpected news. Marshal Blucher had been attacked that day by the French; but he seemed to consider it as a mere affair of out-posts, which was not likely to proceed much further at present, though it might, probably, prove the prelude to a more important engagement. It was the opinion of most military men in Brussels, that it was the plan of Napoleon, by a false alarm, to induce the allies to concentrate their chief military force in that quarter, in order that he might more successfully make a serious attack upon some other point; and that it was against Brussels and the English army that the blow would be aimed. The troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice; but no immediate movement was expected, and for some hours all was quiet.

“It was past midnight, and profound repose seemed to reign over Brussels, when suddenly the drums beat to arms, and the trumpet's loud call was heard from every part of the city. It is impossible to describe the effect of these sounds, heard in the silence of the night. We were not long left in doubt of the truth. A second courier had arrived from Blucher: the attack had become serious; the French were in considerable force; they had taken Charleroi, and had gained some advantage over the Prussians, and the troops were ordered to march immediately to support them. Instantly every place resounded with martial preparations: there was not a house in which military were not quartered; and

Confusion at Brussels.

consequently, the whole town was one universal scene of bustle: the soldiers were seen assembling from all parts in the Place Royale, with their knapsacks; some taking leave of their wives and children; others sitting down upon the sharp pavement, waiting for their comrades; others sleeping upon packs of straw, surrounded by all the din of war; while bat horses and baggage-wagons were loading, artillery and commissariat trains harnessing, officers riding in all directions, carts clattering, chargers neighing, bugles sounding, drums beating, and colours flying.

“ A most laughable contrast to this martial scene was presented by a long procession of carts coming quietly in, as usual, from the country to market, filled with old Flemish women, who looked irresistibly comic, seated among their piles of cabbage, baskets of green peas, early potatoes, and strawberries; totally ignorant of the cause of all these warlike preparations, and gazing at the scene around them with many a look of gaping wonder, as they jogged merrily along, one after another, through the Place Royale, amidst the crowds of soldiers, and the confusion of baggage-wagons.

“ Yet there was order amidst all this apparent confusion. Regiment after regiment formed with the utmost regularity, and marched out of Brussels. About four o'clock in the morning, the 42nd and 92nd Highland regiments marched through the Place Royale, and the Parc. One could not but admire their fine appearance; their firm, collected,

Affecting anecdote.

steady, military demeanour, as they went rejoicing to battle, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. Before that sun had set in night, how many of that gallant band were laid low!—They fought like heroes, and like heroes they fell!—an honour to their country.—On many a highland hill, and through many a lowland valley, long will the deeds of these brave men be fondly remembered, and their fate deeply deplored. Never did a finer body of men take the field—never did men march to battle, that were destined to perform such services to their country, and to obtain such immortal renown !*

* Another writer thus describes the state of Brussels at the moment of the first alarm :

“ Brussels was agitated, and anxious in all her hearts : every house was the scene of *adieux*, not the less tender and sorrowful on account of the shortness of the intimacy that had preceded them. The young men that had not been very provident, were in a flutter, trying all sorts of expedients to procure a few necessaries for the march. Relations and intimate friends, belonging to different regiments, hurried together for an instant, to shake hands, and charge each other with short confidential commissions, to be discharged by the survivor. One affecting instance of this sort I know : two officers, connected by intimate ties, and attached by the closest friendship, spent a part of this eventful evening together ; but they were soon forced to separate, to attend to their respective urgent duties. They were not in the same regiment :—one was known to inquire for his friend, of a soldier who passed by, just before he went into action,—the other made a similar inquiry, when engaged in hot fire, and heard from a wounded ser-

Troops leave Brussels.

“ Before eight in the morning, the streets, which had been filled with busy crowds, were empty and silent; the great square of the Place Royale, which had been filled with armed men, and with all the

geant who was going to the rear, that he was never again to see his companion. Shortly after this, the last inquirer was hit himself; but he has recovered of his wound. There is something very striking in these hasty interrogations, put by a soldier concerning a comrade, whom he had but lately left in the full enjoyment of health and spirits:—interrogations that are very likely to be cut short as they are put, by the fate, dreaded for a friend, falling on him who cherishes the solicitude.

“ The spectacle in Brussels, as the troops were collecting and falling into their ranks, is described to have been most peculiar and impressive. It could not fail to be so. The darkness soon gave way a little, as the first light of a summer morning broke through the edge of the sky; but the candles still continued to shine through the windows, showing that there had been no one at rest during the night; and their pale hue, as the morning advanced, gave a melancholy, sickly character to the look of the streets, corresponding with the general feeling of the spectators, who crowded to see gallant men go forth to death. The light was scarcely sufficient, before the march commenced, to discover faces;—feathers, flags, and bayonet points, were all that could be seen. They went on and off, and gathered and formed, in a hazy obscurity. Mounted officers emerged rapidly from the deep shadows that lay in the distances: loud cries were heard, causing a confusion, that soon, however, settled itself into military regularity. Women who had bidden farewell at home, could not be satisfied with that, but came forth, and stood, in slight neglected clothing, at the corners by which they knew their friends would pass,—almost ashamed of their own feelings, but unable to resist the wish to gain one more look, and receive another pressure of the hand. Our officers speak with enthusiasm of the signs of

Interesting instance of friendship.

appurtenances and paraphernalia of war, was now quite deserted.

“ The Flemish drivers were sleeping in the tilted carts that were destined to convey the wounded—the heavy baggage-wagons ranged in order, and ready to move when occasion might require, were standing under the guard of a few centinels; some officers were still to be seen riding out of town, to join the army. The Duke of Wellington had set off in great spirits, observing, that as Blucher had

affection shown to them at this affecting moment, by the Brussels hosts and hostesses. A friend of mine was embraced by his landlord at the instant of parting, and made to promise, that if any accident should send him back to Brussels, he would return to the house where he had been long and kindly entertained. The promise was kept:—one day only intervened before the officer made his appearance again at the door of this good citizen. He presented himself bleeding, exhausted, and in agony; his inviter received him with open arms.—“ Now,” said he, “ you have made me your friend for ever, for you have observed your promise, and have shown that you relied on my sincerity.” Every possible attention was extended to the wounded officer for the several months of his slow recovery, and there was as much delicacy in the manner of these attentions, as heartiness in the disposition by which they were dictated.

“ The hasty march was long and painful. The officers, though they very well knew that the enemy had attacked the Prussians, did not think that they were on their road to immediate battle. But the fact was so. The divisions of our army were at this time all making their way to the point of concentration fixed upon by their commander: the whole dreadful machine was now in motion, —no part comprehending its relations to the others, but the eye of the mover superintending and understanding all.”

Various reports of the engagement.

most likely settled the business himself by this time, he should perhaps be back to dinner. Sir Thomas Picton mounted upon his charger, in soldier-like style, with his reconnoitering-glass slung across his shoulder, gaily accosting his friends, as he rode through the streets, left Brussels in the highest spirits—never to return. It was on this very morning that Napoleon Bonaparte made the boast, that to-morrow night he would sleep at Lacken.

“After the army were gone, Brussels seemed indeed a perfect desert. Every countenance was marked with anxiety or melancholy—every heart was filled with anxious expectation. It was not, however, supposed that any action would take place that day. What was then the general consternation, when about three o’clock, a furious cannonading began!—It was certainly in the direction the army had taken; it came from WATERLOO!—Had the troops then encountered the French, before they had been joined by the Prussians?—Were they separately engaged?—Where?—When?—How?—In vain did every one ask questions which none could answer,—numbers of people in carriages and on horseback, set off towards Waterloo, and returned no wiser than they went, each bringing back a different story—a thousand absurd reports, totally devoid of foundation, were circulated—what you were told one minute, was contradicted the next. According to some, Blucher had been completely beaten—according to others, he had gained a complete victory;—some would have it, that 30.000

Dreadful suspense in Brussels.

French were left dead on the field of battle—others, that about the same number were advancing to surprise Brussels. It was even said that the English army was retreating *in confusion*—but the bearers of this piece of intelligence were received with so much indignation, and such perfect incredulity, that they were glad to hold their peace. Some said the scene of action was twenty miles off—others, that it was only six. At length intelligence came from the army, brought by an officer who had left the field after five o'clock; and in the words of this officer, “all was well.”

“Still the cannonading continued, and apparently approached nearer. The French were said to be 30 or 40,000 strong. Only 10,000 British troops had marched out of Brussels—the allied army was unconcentrated—it was impossible, even with the fullest confidence in British valour, not to feel extreme anxiety for the army. Unable to rest, we wandered about the Parc the whole evening, or stood upon the ramparts, listening to the heavy cannonade, which towards 10 o'clock became fainter, and soon afterwards entirely died away. No further intelligence had arrived—the cannonade had continued five hours since the last accounts came away. The anxiety to know the result of the battle may be imagined.

“Between twelve and one, we suddenly heard the noise of the rapid rolling of heavy carriages, in long succession, passing through the Place Royale, mingled with the loud cries and exclamations of the

News of the French being victorious.

people below. For some minutes we listened in silence—faster and faster, and louder and louder, the long train of carriages continued to roll through the town; the cries of the affrighted people increased. In some alarm we hastily ran out to inquire the cause of this tumult. As we flew down stairs, the house seemed deserted, every room door was open—the candles were left burning on the tables—every one had run out into the Place Royale—at the bottom of the stairs a group of affrighted Belgians were assembled—consternation pictured on their faces. They could only tell us that intelligence had been brought, of a large body of French having been seen advancing through the woods to take Brussels; that they were within half an hour's march of the city, (which was wholly undefended,) and that the English army was in full retreat—*C'est trop vrai—c'est trop vrai*, was repeated on every side: and the train of artillery that was passing through, they said, was retreating!—We had soon, however, the satisfaction of finding that this was not the case, that the artillery were passing through to join the army, that they were not retreating, but advancing; and finding that the report of the French being within half an hour's march of the city, rested only on the authority of some Belgians, our alarm gradually subsided—some people indeed took their departure—but as the French did not make their appearance, some went to bed, and others lay down in their clothes, by no means as-

Cowardly flight of the Belgic cavalry.

sured that their slumbers might not be broken by the entrance of the French.

“ In fact between five and six, we were roused by a loud knocking at the door, and the cries of *Les Francois sont ici—les Francois sont ici.*—Starting up, the first sight we beheld, was a troop of Belgic cavalry—covered—not with glory, but with mud! galloping through the town at full speed, as if the enemy were at their heels: and immediately the heavy baggage-wagons, which had been harnessed from the moment of the first alarm, set off at full gallop down La Montague de la Cour, and through every street by which it was possible to effect their escape. In less than two minutes, the great square of the Place Royale, which had been crowded with men and horses, carts and baggage-wagons, was completely cleared of every thing, and entirely deserted. Again were the cries repeated of *Les Francois sont ici!*—*Ils s'emparent de la porte de la ville!* the doors of all the bed-rooms were thrown open, the people flew out with their night-caps on; scarcely half dressed, and looking quite distracted, running about pale and trembling they knew not whither, with packages under their arms—some carrying huge heterogeneous collections of things down to the cellars, and others loaded with their property flying up to the garrets. The poor fille-de-chambre, nearly frightened out of her wits, was standing wringing her hands, unable to articulate any thing but *Les Francois—Les Francois!*—while the *Qui-*

Intelligence received at Brussels of the defeat of the French.

sinriere, exclaimed with more dignity, *Nous sommes tous perdus.*

“ In the court-yard below, a scene of the most dreadful confusion ensued ; description can give but a faint idea of the scuffle that took place to get at the horses and carriages ; the squabbling of masters and servants, ostlers, chambermaids, coachmen, and gentlemen, all scolding at once, and swearing in French, English, and Flemish ; while every opprobrious epithet and figure of speech which the three languages contained, were exhausted upon each other, and the confusion of tongues could scarcely have been exceeded by that of the Tower of Babel. Those who had horses, or means of procuring them, set off with the most astonishing expedition, and one English carriage after another took the road to Antwerp.

“ The Duke’s aid-de-camp at last brought information, that the British army, though attacked by such a tremendous superiority, had completely repulsed the French, and remained masters of the field of battle. The defeat which the Prussians had sustained, could not, however, be concealed, and the Belgians were filled with consternation and dismay. The corpse of the Duke of Brunswick had passed through Brussels during the night, and his fate seemed to make a great impression upon the minds of the people. Wagons filled with the wounded began to arrive, and the melancholy spectacle of these poor sufferers increased the general despondency. The streets were filled with the most pitiable

The plans of Bonaparte begin to unfold.

sights. We saw a Belgic soldier dying at the door of his own home, and surrounded by his relations who were weeping over him. Numerous were the sorrowful groups standing round the dead bodies of those who had died of their wounds in the way home. Numbers of wounded, who were able to walk, were wandering upon every road; their blood-stained clothes and pale haggard countenances, perhaps, giving the idea of sufferings much greater than the reality."

After the taking of Charleroi, which has been related in page 68, upon the 16th, at three in the morning, the troops which had hitherto remained on the right of the Sambre, crossed that river; and now Bonaparte began to develope that daring plan which he had formed, of attacking, upon one and the same day, two such opponents as Wellington and Blucher. The left wing of the French army, consisting of the first and second corps, and of four divisions of cavalry, was intrusted to Ney, who was instructed to march upon Brussels by Gosselies and Frasnes, overpowering such opposition as might be offered to him in his progress by the Belgian troops, and by the British who might advance to their support.

The centre and right wing of the army, with the Imperial Guards (under the immediate command of Bonaparte himself,) marched to the right towards Fleurus, against Blucher and the Prussians.

The left wing of the French, under General Ney, commenced its march for Brussels. At Frasnes, they encountered and drove before them some Bel-

Marshal Ney attacks the English division.

gian troops who were stationed in that village. But the gallant Prince of Orange, worthy of his name, of his education under Wellington, and of the rank which he now holds in Europe, was coming to the support of his advanced posts, and reinforced them so as to keep the enemy in check.

It was of the utmost importance to maintain the positions which was now occupied by the Belgians, being an alignment between the villages of Sart a Mouline and Quatre Bras. The latter farm-house, or village, derives its name from being the point where the highway from Charleroi to Brussels is intersected by another road at nearly right angles.— These roads were both essential to the allies; by the high-road they communicated with Brussels, and by that which intersected it with the right of the Prussian army stationed at St. Amand. A large and thick wood, called Le Bois de Bossu, skirted the road to Brussels on the right hand of the English position; along the edge of that wood was a hollow way, which might be called a ravine; and between the wood and the French position were several fields of rye, which grows in Flanders to an unusual and gigantic height. In this situation it became the principal object of the French to secure the wood, from which they might debouche upon the Brussels road. The English division which was destined to support the Prussians, was now most furiously attacked by the rest of the French army that had come up, with Marshal Ney at their head, amounting to no less than 40,000 men. There had been much skirmishing about this

Battle of Quatre Bras—Duke of Brunswick killed.

point during the whole of the morning; the main attack was made after three o'clock. The Brunswick corps and the fifth division had happily arrived, and maintained the position with the most signal intrepidity, under the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir James Kempt, and Sir Dennis Pack. The Prince of Orange was at one time surrounded; a battalion of Belgians delivered him; he took off the insignia of his order, and threw it among them, saying, "Children, you have all deserved it!" They fastened it to their colours on the field of battle, amid the cries of "Long live the Prince!" They swore to defend it till death, and many actually fell while they were pronouncing the oath. General Picton was wounded—but knowing how much was to be done, he would not mention his wound, lest he should be hindered from being present in the subsequent actions; nor was it till after his death, in the battle of the 18th, that this wound, so heroically concealed, and dressed only with a piece of a torn handkerchief, applied to it in secret by Sir Thomas Picton himself, was discovered. The Duke of Brunswick, in the ardour of battle, was carried into the fire of small arms,—a musket-ball went through his bridle-hand into the belly, and entered the liver; he died in a few minutes, greatly and deservedly lamented.*

* FREDERICK WILLIAM, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, Oels, and Bernstadt, was the fourth and youngest son of Charles William Ferdinand, the late reigning Duke of Brunswick-Wol-

Biographical sketch of the Duke of Brunswick.

In this action, which was neither less obstinate, nor (in proportion to the forces engaged) less bloody than that at Ligny, the French had many circum-

fenbottle, who died on the 10th of November, 1806, at Ottenen, near Altona, in consequence of the wound which he received at the unfortunate battle of Jena. He was doubly allied to the illustrious House which sways the British sceptre—his mother being the sister of George III. and his sister the wife of the heir-apparent to the throne. He was born on the 6th of October, 1771, and received the same education as his second and third brothers, who are not much older than himself; till the military profession, for which he was destined, required a course of instruction particularly adapted to that object.

In 1785, he was nominated successor to his uncle, Frederick Augustus, Duke of Oels and Bernstadt, in case he should die without issue; an arrangement which was confirmed by Frederick the Great, and his nephew, Frederick William II. as sovereigns of Silesia.

The prince soon afterwards went to Lausanne, accompanied by M. Langer, who still holds the situation of librarian at Wolfenbottle, and who had, a few years before, attended his brother, the hereditary prince, to the same place. After a residence of about two years in Swisserland, the prince immediately commenced his military career. He was appointed captain in the regiment of infantry then in garrison at Magdeburgh, commanded by Lieutenant-General Langefeld, governor of that place, who died in 1789; a regiment which previously had for its chief the prince's great uncle, the hero of Crevelt and Minden.

The prince, who devoted himself with the greatest assiduity and zeal to the duties of his profession, was rapidly promoted.—In 1790, at the early age of 19, he was invested with the grand order of the Black Eagle. In the war with France, which commenced in 1792, the prince accompanied the Prussian army. He

Action at Quatre Bras.—Advantages of the French troops.

stances in their favour. They were not only superior in numbers, but they were comparatively fresh; whereas the allies had been marching from the pre-

gained experience; and the military talents and intrepidity which he more and more developed, were conspicuously displayed by him on every occasion. This courage, this buoyant sense of youthful energy, which banished every idea of personal danger, impelled him, in several instances, beyond the bounds of prudence. On the 27th of November, in the last-mentioned year, he incurred the most imminent danger of his life, in a skirmish which took place in the village of Etsch, near Wurzel. He there received two wounds, and it was a considerable time before he recovered from their effects. The treaty concluded at Basle, on the 5th of April, 1795, again gave repose to the Prussian army.—Prince Frederick William, after being for some time commander of the regiment of Thadden, at Halle, and afterwards of Kleist's regiment, at Prenzlau, was, in 1800, promoted to the rank of Major-General. The latter regiment had long distinguished itself in the Prussian army, and, under the conduct of the prince, who bestowed on it the most assiduous attention, and many sacrifices, confirmed the character and reputation which it had acquired.

On the 1st of November, 1802, he received at Carlsruhe, the hand of the Princess Mary Elizabeth Wilhelmina, grand-daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden. The prince and his consort seemed to have been created expressly for each other; and their mutual felicity was augmented by the birth of two sons, on the 30th of October, 1804, and the 25th of April, 1806, both of whom are still living.

His uncle, Frederick Augustus, dying on the 8th of October, 1805, he succeeded to the Duchies of Oels and Bernstadt. The following year was marked by the breaking out of the war, the issue of which is so well known. The duke was attached to the corps commanded by General Blücher, which, after the most astonishing exertions, and the most obstinate resistance, was

Action at Quatre Bras.

ceding midnight, for fifteen hours, without food or drink, except the water they procured on their march. The fields were covered with corn growing

obliged to submit to the law of necessity. The capitulation of Lubeck put an end to the duke's military career, for this war; and the circumstances of the times, with the peculiar relations resulting from them, induced him to apply for his dismissal from the Prussian service.

The unexpected decease of his eldest brother, the hereditary prince, in the month of September of the same year, and the agreement concluded by him with his two brothers, called him, on the decease of his father, to the government of the patrimonial dominions; which, however, he held but for a short time, Brunswick being, by the treaty of Tilsit, incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia.

After this reverse, the duke resided chiefly at Bruchsal, in Baden; and here he was doomed to experience a misfortune that afflicted him still more severely. On the 20th of April, 1808, he lost his amiable consort, and with her fled all his happiness. In the flower of her age, having not yet attained her 26th year, this excellent princess, wife, and mother, after being delivered of a still-born daughter, was removed to a better life.

After her death, little or nothing was known respecting him. On the rupture between Austria and France, in April, 1809, the duke was in Bohemia, where he was endeavouring to raise an independent corps of Black Hussars. More fortunate than Schill, who had already perished at Stralsund, the duke began his new military career by making an incursion into the kingdom of Saxony, in conjunction with a corps of Austrian troops. They were, however, obliged to evacuate Leipsic and Dresden, on the approach of a considerable force, composed of Dutch and Westphalians. The Duke of Brunswick Oels and General Am Ende, retired from Dresden in a Western direction, towards Franconia, into which the Austrians had penetrated from Bohemia in consi-

Action at Quatre Bras.

as high as the tallest man's shoulders: availing themselves of this, and of an inequality of ground, they posted a strong body of cuirassiers so as effec-

derable force under the command of Lieutenant Field Marshal Kienmayer. The armistice concluded at Znaym, in consequence of the battle of Deutsch Wagram, terminated the contest in that country also, and deprived the duke of the co-operation of the Austrian troops. They evacuated Dresden, which they had a second time occupied, and withdrew beyond the Bohemian frontiers.

Meanwhile the Duke of Brunswick had likewise evacuated some of the places of which he had taken possession, but still remained in the Erzgebirge, without being pursued either by the Saxons or Westphalians. For some time he appeared undecided whether he should join the Austrians in Bayreuth, or adopt a different plan. It is not, however, improbable, that he proceeded further to the west, as his advanced posts are said to have been seen near Fulda, in order to mislead his adversaries in respect to his real intentions. Be this as it may, the unfortunate events in the course of July, fixed his resolution. He determined to quit Germany, where fortune did not seem to smile on the cause which he had espoused, and to conduct his corps to the English, of whose great preparations for an expedition to the Continent, the foreign papers were at that time so full.

The difficulties which opposed the execution of this undertaking were innumerable. It was not till he had travelled a space of near 300 miles, that he could hope to reach the coasts of the German Ocean. His route lay through countries which were not wholly destitute of hostile troops.

The current accounts stated the corps of the Duke of Brunswick to have been completely dispersed and annihilated; the inhabitants of Leipsic were, therefore, not a little surprised, when, at three in the morning of the 26th of July, he entered that city with 1900 men, 700 of whom were cavalry, after a smart action

Sketch of the Duke of Brunswick.

ually to conceal them; and the 79th and 42nd regiments were thus taken by surprise. The former, which suffered most severely, would have been

before the inner gates. It is not unlikely that the duke had reason to be dissatisfied with something which had occurred during his former occupation of this city; for a contribution, though a very moderate one, amounting to no more than 15,000 dollars, was imposed; and this, we believe, was the only requisition of the kind made by the duke during his whole march. His men also exercised the right of retaliation on several persons who had given them cause of offence, during and after their retreat.

On the 27th of July, the duke arrived at Halle, and, with unparalleled celerity, pursued his route by way of Eisleben, to Halberstadt, which place Colonel Count Wellingerode, Grand Marshal of the Palace to the King of Westphalia, entered with the 5th regiment of foot, on the afternoon of the 30th of July.—The same evening, the duke's corps appeared before the gates with six pieces of cannon. The enemy, though destitute of cavalry and artillery, made an obstinate resistance, but was at length overpowered, after a bloody conflict, which was continued for some time in the streets of Halberstadt. The duke, who had fought in the ranks of his Black Hussars, invited his officers to table (to which he was often accustomed to sit down in public,) where he was surrounded by such a concourse of people, that he was frequently obliged to request them to stand back. He appeared simply dressed in the uniform of his corps, without any other decoration than the order conferred on him by the Prussian monarch.

He now directed his course towards his native city. Late in the evening of the 31st of July, he entered Brunswick, on whose ramparts, wrapped in a cloak, he passed the night. What must have been the feelings of the prince, when he beheld the palace, once the residence of his illustrious ancestors, his own cradle, and the theatre of his juvenile years; when he traversed the streets, in

Quatre Bras—Critical situation of the 79th regiment.

destroyed, if the 42nd had not come up. Forming itself into a square, it was repeatedly broken, and as repeatedly formed again. Of this regiment,

which his parent had so often been seen, attended by crowds of happy mortals, who awaited the father of his people, to pay him the eloquent tribute of grateful tears; when he encountered the anxious and timid looks of those who once hoped to see the prosperity and the glory of their country augmented by him, whom alone, from among his three sons, his aged father had deemed worthy to be his successor! These were, perhaps, the most painful moments experienced by this high-spirited prince, since the sable genius of Auerstadt eclipsed the splendour of the house of Welfs. Fate, seemed to show him once more the happy land to which he was the rightful heir, to make him the more keenly sensible of his loss. The reflection, that he had returned to a country which once was his, and which he once hoped to leave to his hopeful offspring, as a fugitive, to whom those lips which ought to have sworn fealty, scarcely durst address the accents of compassion, must have wrung his heart. He, nevertheless, retained sufficient strength of mind to conduct himself with exemplary moderation; and, amidst the gloom of his feelings, he was not abandoned by the light of wisdom. If he could not confer happiness, neither would he involve others in his own calamity; but, in a proclamation, magnanimously recommended to his beloved countrymen, to be obedient to their present rulers.

The duke durst not take any long repose at Brunswick, as he was closely pressed on all sides. The Westphalian General, Reubel, concentrated 4000 men of his division at Ohoff; General Gratien had set out with a Dutch division from Erfurt, and was approaching the coasts of the German Ocean; while Lieut. Gen. Ewald, with a corps of Danish troops, crossed from Gluckstadt over the Elbe, into the Hanoverian territory, to cover the banks of that river. General Reubel was nearest to the duke, who, in his rapid retreat, had daily actions with the advanced guard of

Quatre Bras—Severe loss of the 42d regiment.

which was 800 strong, only 96 privates and four officers are said to have come out of the field unhurt. Generals Alten, Halket, Cooke, Maitland, and

the Westphalian troops. That which was fought in the afternoon of the 1st of August, at Oelper, near Brunswick, and in which the duke's horse was killed by a cannon-ball, was the *eleventh* since the commencement of his retreat in Saxony.

The next morning he quitted his native city; and the movement which he now made caused it to be generally supposed, that he was proceeding to Zell. Thither the troops under Reubel, and others, accordingly directed their course. The duke, however, suddenly made his appearance at Hanover, which he entered on the morning of the 3d of August; and in the afternoon, pursued his route by way of Neustadt, to Nieuburgh, where he arrived early the next day. Here he crossed the Weser. He broke down the bridges behind him, and reached Hoya on the 4th. In this manner he hastened along the left bank of the Weser, while part of his corps, in order to make a false demonstration, turned off to Bremen. On the evening of the 5th, this detachment possessed itself of the gates of the city, and hastily departed the next day, to rejoin the corps.

The duke, meanwhile, continued his march through the duchy of Oldenburg, and through Delmenhorst, where he passed the night between the 5th and 6th of August; and it appeared as if he was directing his course towards East Friesland, with a view to embark on the coast of that province. This opinion, however, proved erroneous; for, crossing the Hunta, a small stream which discharges itself into the Weser at Huntebruck, he seized the cornships which had been lying inactive for years at Elsfleth. In these vessels he embarked his men in the night of the 6th, and by force procured a sufficient number of hands to navigate them, the surrounding district being chiefly inhabited by sea-faring people.—On the morning of the 7th, the duke hoisted the English flag, set

Quatre Bras—Firm resistance and bravery of the British troops.

Byng, successively arrived, and the troops most gallantly maintained their position till night, having completely repulsed all the efforts of the French to obtain possession of it. The repeated attacks made upon them by a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery, were all repelled in the steadiest manner. On this day the British Guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scottish brigade, covered themselves with glory.

sail, and the following day reached Heligoland, with part of his corps. That island he quitted on the 11th, and with his faithful followers proceeded to England. On the turn of affairs in Europe, early in 1814, his highness quitted England to take possession of his patrimony, recovered from the rapacious fangs of the world's disturber, and was devoting his attention to those places of internal improvement begun by his father, when the perfidious conduct of the French again summoned him to assist in the task of humbling that ambitious ruler.

How heartily he espoused the cause of legitimate right and social order, may be conceived from the fact, that though the contingent required of him was no more than 4000, he actually joined the allied forces with 14,000. Providence, however, decreed, that he should not enjoy those gratifications, nor live to see the results of a victory, of which he so bravely contributed to accomplish, by his personal exertion and valour, and that of his brave followers.* The Hanoverian government assumes the administration of the duchy during the minority of the eldest boy, now ten years old.

* *Aix la Chapelle, 12th July.*—"The Duke of Wellington caused twelve pieces of the brass cannon taken from the enemy to be delivered to Colonel Osterman, of the Brunswick troops, in order to be employed in the monument which is intended to be erected to his memory."

Quatre Bras—Further particulars.

The official accounts published of this hard contested battle, contain but few particulars. To supply this deficiency, we are happy to have it in our power to lay before the reader the following extracts of letters from individuals engaged in the combat, which will give a tolerably clear idea of the affair:

FROM AN OFFICER.

“ At eleven o'clock on the night of the 15th, the drums beat to arms in Brussels, and the 5th division, which garrisoned that city, after having bivouacked in the park until day-light, set forward towards the frontiers. On the road, we met baggage and sick coming to the rear, but could only learn that the French and Prussians had been fighting the day before, and that another battle was expected when they left the advanced posts. At two o'clock we arrived at Genappe, from whence we heard firing very distinctly: half an hour afterwards we saw the French column advancing, and we had scarcely taken our position, when they attacked us. Our front consisted of the 3d and 5th divisions, with some Nassau people, and a brigade of cavalry, in all about 13,000 men; while the French forces, according to Ney's account, must have been immense, as his reserve alone consisted of 30,000, which, however, he says, Bonaparte disposed of, without having advertised him. The business was begun by the 1st battalion of the 95th, which was sent to drive the French out of some corn-fields, and a thick wood of which they had possession; after sustaining some loss, we suc-

Quatre Bras.—Obstinacy of the contest.

ceeded completely; and three companies of Brunswickers were left to keep it, while we acted on another part of the line; they were, however, driven out immediately, and the French also got possession of a village which turned our flanks. We were then obliged to return, and it took us the whole day to retake what had been lost. While we were employed here, the remainder of the army were in a much more disagreeable situation; for, in consequence of our inferiority in cavalry, each regiment was obliged to form a square, in which manner the most desperate attacks of infantry and charges of cavalry were resisted and repelled; and when night put an end to the slaughter, the French not only gave up every attempt on our position, but retired from their own, on which we bivouacked.

“ I will not attempt to describe the sort of night we passed—I will leave you to conceive it. The groans of the wounded and dying, to whom no relief could be afforded, must not be spoken of here, because on the 18th it was fifty thousand times worse. But a handful of men lying in the face of such superior numbers, and being obliged to sleep in squares for fear the enemy’s dragoons, knowing that we were weak in that arm, might make a dash into the camp, was no very pleasant reverie to sooth one to rest. Exclusive of this, I was annoyed by a wound I had received in the thigh, and which was become excessively painful. I had no great coat, and small rain continued falling until late the next day, when it was succeeded by torrents. Bonaparte

Quatre Bras.—Object of the French to possess the road to Nivelles.

however, was determined not to give us much respite, as he attacked our piquets at two in the morning; some companies of the 95th were sent to their support; and we continued skirmishing until eleven o'clock, when the Duke commenced his retreat, which was covered by Lord Uxbridge.

FROM AN OFFICER IN THE GUARDS.

“ We were suddenly moved from Enghein, where we had remained so many weeks in tranquillity, on the night of the 15th instant, or rather the morning of the 16th, at three o'clock. We continued on our march through Braine-le-Comte (which had been the Prince of Orange's head-quarters,) and from thence on to Nivelles, where we halted, and the men began making fires and cooking. During the whole of this time, and as we approached the town, we heard distinctly a constant roar of cannon; and we had scarcely rested ourselves, and commenced dressing the rations, which had been served out at Enghein, when an aid-de-camp from the Duke of Wellington arrived, and ordered us instantly under arms, and to advance with all speed to Les Quatre Bras, where the action was going on with the greatest fury, and where the French were making rapid strides towards the object they had in view, which was to gain a wood, called Bois de Bossu; a circumstance calculated to possess them of the road to Nivelles, and to enable them to turn the flank of the British and Brunswickers, and to cut off the communication

Quatre Bras.—Dreadful scene of slaughter.

between them and the other forces which were coming up. This order was, of course, instantly obeyed; the meat which was cooking was thrown away; the kettles, &c. packed up, and we proceeded as fast as our tired legs would carry us, towards a scene of slaughter, which was a prelude well calculated to usher in the bloody tragedy of the 18th.

“ We marched up towards the enemy, at each step hearing more clearly the fire of musketry; and as we approached the field of action, we met constantly wagons full of men, of all the various nations under the Duke’s command, wounded in the most dreadful manner. The sides of the road had a heap of dying and dead, very many of whom were British; such a scene did, indeed, demand every better feeling of the mind to cope with its horrors; and too much cannot be said in praise of the division of Guards, the very largest part of whom were young soldiers, and volunteers from the militia, who had never been exposed to the fire of an enemy, or witnessed its effects. During the period of our advance from Nivelles, I suppose nothing could exceed the anxiety of the moment, with those on the field. The French, who had a large cavalry and artillery, (in both of which arms we were quite destitute, excepting some Belgian and German guns,) had made dreadful havoc in our lines, and had succeeded in pushing an immensely strong column of tirailleurs into the wood I have before mentioned, of which they had possessed themselves, and had just begun to cross the road, having marched through the wood,

Charge of the French cavalry.—Brave resistance.

and placed affairs in a critical situation, when the guards luckily came in sight. The moment we caught a glimpse of them we halted, formed, and having loaded and fixed bayonets, advanced; the French immediately retiring: and the very last man who attempted to re-enter the wood, was killed by our grenadiers. At this instant our men gave three glorious cheers, and, though we had marched fifteen hours without any thing to eat and drink, save the water we procured on the march, we rushed to attack the enemy. This was done by the 1st brigade, consisting of the 2nd and 3d battalions of the first regiment: and the 2nd brigade, consisting of the 2nd battalion of the Coldstream and third regiment, were formed as a reserve along the chaussee. As we entered the wood, a few noble fellows who had sunk down overpowered with fatigue, lent their voice to cheer their comrades. The trees were so thick, that it was beyond any thing difficult to effect a passage. As we approached, we saw the enemy behind them, taking aim at us, they contested every bush, and at a small rivulet running through the wood, they attempted a stand, but could not resist us; and we at last succeeded in forcing them out of their possessions. The moment we endeavoured to go out of this wood (which had naturally broken us), the French cavalry charged us; but we at last found the third battalion, who had rather skirted the wood, and formed in front of it, where they afterwards were in hollow square, and repulsed all the attempts of the French cavalry to break them. Our loss was

The British gain some advantages.

most tremendous, and nothing could exceed the desperate work of the evening; the French infantry and cavalry fought most desperately; and after a conflict of nearly three hours (the obstinacy of which could find no parallel, save in the slaughter it occasioned), we had the happiness to find ourselves complete masters of the road and wood, and that we had at length defeated all the efforts of the French to outflank us, and turn our right, than which nothing could be of greater moment to both parties.—General Picton's superb division had been engaged since 2 o'clock, P. M. and was still fighting with the greatest fury: no terms can be found sufficient to explain their exertions. The fine brigade of Highlanders suffered most dreadfully, and so did all the regiments engaged. The gallant and noble conduct of the Brunswickers was the admiration of every one. I myself saw scarcely any of the Dutch troops; but a regiment of Belgian light cavalry held a long struggle with the famous cuirassiers, in a way that can never be forgotten; they, poor fellows, were nearly all cut to pieces. The French cuirassiers charged two German guns, with the intent of taking them to turn them down the road on our flank. This charge was made along the chaussee running from Charleroi to Brussels; the guns were placed near the farm-house of Les Quatre Bras, and were loaded and kept till their close arrival. Two companies (I think of Highlanders), posted behind a house and dunghill, who flanked the enemy on their approach, and the artillery, received them with such a discharge,

Severe loss sustained in the action.

and so near, as to lay, with an effect like magic, the whole head of the column low ; causing it to fly, and be nearly all destroyed. We had fought till dark ; the French became less impetuous, and after a little cannonade they retired from the field. Alas ! when we met after the action, how many were wanting among us ! how many who were in the full pride of youth and manhood, had gone to that bourn, from whence they could return no more !”*

* *Extract of a Letter from a Private of the 42nd Regiment to his Father.*

“ On the 15th, about twelve o’clock at night, we turned out, and at two in the morning marched from the city of Brussels to meet the enemy, who were advancing in great force on that city. About three o’clock in the afternoon of the 16th, we came up with them. Our whole force did not exceed 12,000 men, who were fatigued with a long march of upwards of twenty miles, encumbered with knapsacks and other luggage. The day was uncommonly warm, and no water to be had on the road ; however, we were brought up in order of battle. The French being strongly posted in a thick wood, to the number of 40,000 men, including cavalry and lancers, gave us very little time to look round us ere the fight commenced on both sides in an awful and destructive manner, they having every advantage of us, both as to position and numbers, particularly in cavalry, as the British dragoons had not yet come up. The French cavalry charged the British line of infantry three different times, and did much execution, until we were obliged to form squares of battalions, in order to turn them, which was executed in a most gallant manner, and many hundreds of them never returned. Still they sent up fresh forces, and as often we beat them back. The battle lasted until it was quite dark, when the enemy began to give way, our poor fellows who were left alive following them as long as they could see, when

Quatre Bras.—Private letters.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

“ The 92nd, forming one of the regiments of the 1st brigade along with the Scots (Royals,) 42nd and 44th, was suddenly ordered to Brussels, on the 15th, at night—after which they marched thirty miles, and came up with the enemy about two or three o’clock on the 16th, and immediately marched into the field; but as the first division was only there with some Brunswickers, the 92nd was ordered to take position in a ditch, to cover the guns and ca-

night put an end to the fatigues of a well fought day. Thousands on both sides lay killed and wounded on the field of battle; and as the greater part of the action lay in corn-fields, along a vast tract of country, many hundreds must have died for want of assistance through the night, who were not able of themselves to crawl away. I was wounded by a musket-ball, which passed through my right arm and breast, and lodged in my back, from whence it was extracted by a surgeon in the hospital of this place. Captain M. is most severely wounded, having several shots through his body, and his regiment in general are mostly cut off. We have heard, since we came here, that our fine brigade, which entered the field on that eventful day, consisting of the 3d battalion Royal Scots, 42nd, 44th, and 92nd regiments, are now formed into one battalion, not exceeding in the whole 400 men.

“ The 92nd Highlanders while rushing to the charge, had their gallant Colonel Cameron killed. Lieut. Col. Mitchel then took the command of the regiment, was soon wounded and carried off the field, resigning the command to Captain Holmes, the senior officer present. Captain Holmes was soon after wounded, and carried off. Captain Dugald Campbell then took the command, and he was soon wounded and carried off; the command thus devolved on the next senior officer present. The first regiment of guards lost 500 men in this battle.”

Quatre Bras.—Dreadful carnage.

valry, as the junior regiment: in the mean time the other part of the division went a little to the left, to check the French infantry passing that way. The situation of this regiment was most unpleasant for upwards of an hour, but possessed of an ample view of seeing all that was going on, although exposed very much to the enemy's guns, at this period, from the Duke and staff being just in front of the regiment; and at this point, all the reinforcements passed to their stations. Very many of the Duke's staff were then wounded. At this time the French cavalry began to attack a village; the Brunswick cavalry, then in front of the 92nd, went to meet them; not being in sufficient strength, the Brunswickers retired upon the 92nd in some confusion; we could not then give any help—the French cut down a great many of their rear men, and dismounted two guns. The Brunswickers passed round the right flank, intermingled with French; as soon as they were cleared, the regiment fired. The grenadiers being wheeled back on the road which lined the ditch, we lined, to enable them to fire as the French passed—the others to fire obliquely on the road—on those following the Brunswickers, the volley separated the front charge from the rear by the gap which we made; nothing was seen but horses and men tumbling over each other—the rear of the enemy retreated, and the front dashed through the village, cutting down all stragglers. The enemy's charge being repelled, we now prepared to charge, against a body of cavalry nearly in motion,

Quatre Bras.—Colonel Cameron killed.

supported by infantry—‘Come on, my old 92nd,’ was the word from the Adjutant-General Barnes—he then jumped from the ditch, and we charged beautifully; Colonel Cameron led the regiment; the enemy’s fire was severe; we then moved from behind a house, and passed the corner of a garden parallel to the road, when a volley was given by a column on the right, and, which was retreating to the wood—this fire killed our gallant Colonel Cameron, and did considerable execution. This column kept the regiment five minutes before the garden could be cleared, to advance to the lines—the fire was now dreadful, and the regiment suffered much: the French at length retreated up to the side of the wood, still, however, keeping up a tremendous fire. The 92nd had by this separated itself from the line, and not more than 50 left, when a regiment of guards was sent to its relief—the men afterwards retired behind the houses, when the loss was found to be 28 officers, and 270 men. The guards, however, were not allowed to keep possession of the position we had gained, five minutes.”

BRAVERY OF THE 3D BATTALION OF ROYALS.

(By an Officer.)

“I have great pleasure in detailing the conduct of the gallant 3d battalion of the Royal Scots; and though I have been present with the regiment at the battles of Busaco, Salamanca, Vittoria, Fuentes d’Honor, both stormings of San Sebastian, the passage of the Bidassoa, &c. (in all of which they bore

Bravery of the 3d Royals.

a most conspicuous part, and suffered most severely,) I can assure you they never evinced more steadiness and determined bravery than at the late battle.— About half-past one o'clock on the 16th, the battalion was taken from its place in the centre of the 5th division, by a movement to its own left, by order of Sir Thomas Picton, and instantly by command of that lamented officer brought into action by a charge upon a column of the enemy; it succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations in routing this column, who afterwards formed under the protection of their cavalry, and then commenced a most galling fire upon us, which we returned with the utmost steadiness and precision. The battalion was brought into action under the most trying circumstances imaginable, and continued so for a long time; but they never for one moment lost sight of that character which upon former trials they had so well earned and maintained. The ground through which they moved was planted with corn that took the tallest men up to the shoulders; and the enemy by this, and the advantage of the rising ground, threw in volley after volley of grape and musketry, which did astonishing execution.

“ After being engaged for some time in a line, that battalion was formed into a square, to resist the enemy's cavalry, who were then advancing in great force; and I have the pride of stating, that though charged six or seven times by an infinite superiority of numbers, the French cavalry never for an instant

Battle of Quatre Bras.

made the slightest impression upon the square of the Royal Scots.

“ The high encomiums given to this battalion on the morning of the 17th, by the general officers both of brigade and division, for its conduct on the 16th, have made me very proud of being a Royal Scot. The cuirassiers never were able to make the smallest impression upon our squares, nor did we lose one single man by the cavalry. We were at the very commencement of the action sent with Sir James Kempt’s brigade, by order of Sir T. Picton, and remained apart from our own brigade the whole day. The 42nd and 92nd were chiefly engaged near a village, in which the commander of the forces remained with the head-quarters for a great part of the afternoon. Our battalion and the 28th formed one square, and it so happened, that the cuirassiers charged that part of the square in which the Royals were posted.”

Preparations for the contest at Ligny.

CHAPTER IV.

Bonaparte commands the divisions of the French army against the Prussians—Geographical sketch of the seat of war—The engagement commences—St. Amand carried by the French—Furious contest at Ligny—The French victorious—Retreat of the Prussians—Narrow escape of Marshal Blucher—Estimate of the loss sustained by the Prussians—The Duke of Wellington takes his position on the Field of Waterloo.

DURING the severe contest maintained by the Duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras, the brave veteran Blucher was actively engaged with the division under the immediate command of his most inveterate foe, at Ligny.

When Bonaparte moved with his centre and right wing against Blucher, he certainly conceived that he left to Ney a more easy task than his own: and that the Marshal would find no difficulty in pushing his way to Brussels, or near it, before the English army could be concentrated in sufficient force to oppose him. To himself he reserved the task of coping with Blucher, and by his overthrow cutting off all communication between the Prussian and British armies, and compelling each to seek safety in isolated and unconnected movements. The Prussian veteran was strongly posted to receive the enemy, whom, upon earth, he hated most. His army occupied a line, where three villages, built upon broken and unequal ground, served each as a

Geographical sketch of the seat of War.

separate redoubt, defended by infantry, and well furnished with artillery. The village of St. Amand was occupied by his right wing, his centre was posted at Ligny, and his left at Sombref.*

* As it will serve to elucidate the account, and will not be uninteresting, we shall here take a geographical view of the country; which will enable the reader to form a more correct idea of the movement of the armies.

It has been already observed, that the Sambre is the boundary of the Netherlands. What particularly attracts our notice on this river, is the town and fortress of Charleroi, built upon a mountain. It was named from Charles, King of Spain, Charles le Roy. In 1693, the French sat down before it with a numerous army, under the command of the Marquis of Villeroy: so that King William of Great Britain, and the Elector of Bavaria, did not consider themselves strong enough to relieve it; and after a gallant defence, by the Marquis of Castilio, the governor, holding out twenty-seven days, it capitulated to the French on honourable terms; but by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, was restored to the Spaniards. It was taken again by the French; but at the peace of Utrecht, it was given up to the Emperor of Austria, and retained, until it was surrendered in 1794, to the French under Bonaparte, to obtain a peace. It stands 14 miles west of Namur, and 30 south of Brussels. The middle quarter of this fortress is full of melting-houses, mills, and forges, so as in this part much to resemble Birmingham. We may observe here, that by order of Bonaparte the Emperor, Joseph destroyed the fortifications of all the frontier towns in the Netherlands, except Namur, which is 14 miles distant from Charleroi, to the left, or easterly direction. It is situated upon the conflux of the Sambre and the Maes, and betwixt two mountains; possessing a strong castle.—Some derive its name from *novus murus*, a new wall, built by the Romans. In 1692 Louis XIV. with 80,000 men, besieged it.—

Geographical sketch of the seat of war.

All these hamlets are strongly built, and contain several houses, with large court-yards and orchards, each of which is capable of being converted into a station of defence. The ground behind these vil-

The town was taken after a few days' resistance, supposed by treachery. But whilst the French were besieging the castle, our King William III. marched with 90,000 men to its relief: but the English declined the battle, and the castle surrendered. Louis XIV. esteemed this as a most glorious event, and fortified this place, so that it is esteemed the strongest fortress in Europe.—However, it was retaken by King William, in 1695, after a most desperate and bloody siege, Marshal Boufflers commanding in it, with a garrison of not less than 16,000 men. This city was seized again by the French upon the death of Charles II. but restored to the house of Austria at the peace of Utrecht. The streets in Namur are broad and clean, and the houses being in general built of a darkish blue stone, exhibit a whimsical, yet a pleasing appearance. Namur lies 22 miles south-east of Brussels, and was garrisoned by the Prussians.

Beyond Charleroi on the right, is Thuin, a little town between the Sambre and the Maes, before mentioned. It was subject to the French, and strongly fortified at that time, but dismantled by King Joseph. It is on the French side of the Maes, situated 10 miles west of Charleroi.

Lobbes is a village opposite Thuin, on the Brussels side of the Maes, equi-distant from Charleroi.

A high-road reaches from Charleroi to Quatre Bras, called the Brussels road; here it is intersected at nearly right angles, by the Namur road, going in a straight line to Nivelles.

Half way betwixt Charleroi and Quatre Bras lies the village of Gosselies, and midway between Gosselies and Quatre Bras, the village of Frasnes.

These three places, Gosselies, Frasnes, and Quatre Bras, Marshal Ney has rendered famous in story. From Charleroi to Quatre

Position and strength of Marshal Blucher's army.

lages forms an amphitheatre of some elevation, in front of which was a deep ravine, edged by straggling thickets of trees. The villages were in front of the ravine; and masses of infantry were stationed behind each, destined to reinforce the defenders as occasion required. In this strong position Blucher had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to 80,000 men. But the fourth corps, commanded by Bulow, being in distant cantonments between Liege and Hannut, had not yet arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated in the Prussian dispatches at 130,000 men. But as Ney had at least 30,000 soldiers under him at Quatre Bras, it would appear that the troops under Bonaparte's immediate command at the battle of Ligny (even including a strong reserve, which consisted of the first entire division), could not ex-

Bras may be about 12 miles; and from Quatre Bras to Namur, rather more.

In the almost equilateral triangle, formed by the Sambre river for the base, and the roads from Charleroi to Quatre Bras on one side, and from Quatre Bras to Namur on the other, these villages are situated.

Fleurus is in a line with Gosselies, about ten miles distant from Charleroi, where stands the abbey of Fleurus, which is famous for a battle betwixt the French and allies, in 1690, when the French gained a decisive victory.

Nearer the Namur road are three other villages, named, 1. Ligny; 2. Brie, the base of an equilateral triangle; and 3, St. Amand, the apex.

Almost in a line with Ligny and Brie is Sombref, somewhat nearer to Namur.

Extreme enmity between the Prussian and French soldiers.

ceed 100,000 men. The forces, therefore, actually engaged on both sides, might be nearly equal.— They were equal also in courage and in mutual animosity.*

The engagement commenced at three in the afternoon, by a furious cannonade, under cover of which the 3d corps of the French army commanded by Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand, which was defended by the Prussians with an obstinacy, which for a while baffled all the impetuous efforts of a French onset. A part of it was at last carried at the point of the bayonet ; again the French were driven from their conquest ; and again they advanced with increasing numbers, and with redoubled fury. The attacks and repulses in this village followed in rapid succession, each soldier of the two armies meeting his adversary with a resolution that bordered on desperation. The brave defence here made by the Prussians was ultimately of the highest advantage to the allies ; for while the affair at St. Amand was yet dubious, Bonaparte sent in

* The extreme enmity between the Prussian and French soldiers was virulent beyond conception ; and their warfare took a most ferocious character. Before the opening of the campaign, the 1st and 2nd corps of the French had hoisted the *black* flag. They openly avowed that they would give no quarter to the Prussians, and in general they kept their word. Such was the excess of their personal rancour, that the Prussian and French wounded, lying on the ground, crawled to each other, to renew the strife, with whatever weapons they could lay hold of ; and the individual combat seldom terminated, but with the life of one of the parties.

St. Amand carried by the French.

great haste for the 1st corps, which he had placed under Marshal Ney, to save that point, and thus rendered the French force acting against the English at Quatre Bras, less powerful and overwhelming.—St. Amand was, however, finally carried by the French.

The village of Ligny, attacked and defended with the same fury and inveteracy, was repeatedly lost and regained, each party being alternately reinforced from masses of infantry, disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied.—Several houses enclosed with court-yards, according to the Flemish fashion, formed each a separate redoubt, which was furiously assailed by the one party, and obstinately made good by the other. It is impossible to conceive the fury with which the troops on both sides were animated. Each soldier appeared to be avenging his own personal quarrel; and the slaughter was in proportion to the length and obstinacy of a five hours' combat, fought hand to hand, within the crowded and narrow streets of a village.

There was also a sustained cannonade on both sides, through the whole of the afternoon. But in this species of warfare the Prussians sustained a much heavier loss than their antagonists, their masses being drawn up in an exposed situation upon the ridge and sides of the heights behind the villages, while those of the French were sheltered by the winding hollows of the lower grounds.

Sombref, upon the left of the Prussian line, was

Battle of Ligny.—Decisive movement of a division of the French army.

still successfully defended by the Saxon general, Thielmann, against Marshal Grouchy; and the Prussians, though driven from the villages in front of the amphitheatre of hills, still maintained their alignment upon the heights themselves, impatiently expecting to be succoured, either by the English, or by their own fourth division under Bulow. But the Duke of Wellington was himself actively engaged at Quatre Bras; and Bulow had found it impossible to surmount the difficulties attending a long march through bad roads and a difficult country. Thus the Prussian commander was left unsupported, to contend with an army superior in numbers. The evening was already much advanced, and the contest about Ligny continued with the same fury and the same equality of success. In vain the old veteran invoked the arrival of those succours which were so necessary for victory; the danger became every hour more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand to support them. At this crisis, the French commander directed a movement, which was executed with great bravery and success. Suddenly a division of French infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of the Prussians, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive.

Being now possessed of the village of Ligny,

Retreat of the Prussians.

which fronted the centre of the Prussian line, Bonaparte concentrated upon that point the imperial guards, whom he had hitherto kept in reserve.—Eight battalions of this veteran and distinguished infantry, formed into one formidable column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse grenadiers of the guard, traversed the village of Ligny at the *pas de charge*, threw themselves into the ravine which separates the village from the heights, and began to ascend them, under a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. They sustained this murderous discharge with the greatest gallantry, and, advancing against the Prussian line, made such an impression upon the masses of which it consisted, as threatened to break through the centre of their army, and thus cut off the communication between the two wings; the French cavalry, at the same time, charged and drove back that of the Prussians.

In this moment of consternation, the cause of Europe had nearly suffered a momentous loss in the death or captivity of Blucher. A charge of cavalry led on by himself had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket-shot struck the field marshal's horse. The animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously, till it dropped down dead, and its gallant rider, stunned by the violence of the fall, lay entangled under the horse. An adjutant, of the name of Friedland, seeing the fall of his beloved commander, resolved to participate his fate,

Narrow escape of Marshal Blücher.

and dismounted with no other expectation than to die by his side. The French continued their pursuit, and this man then pretended to be slain, and they actually galloped on each side of the dead horse covering the prince. The faithful adjutant then applied in vain every effort to extricate the marshal, when he saw the French cuirassiers returning at full gallop, repulsed in their turn, and flying from the Prussians in some disorder. He again affected to be dead, lying upon his face, with his arms stretched out, and when he thought the French had passed he rose up to call the Prussians. "Here is your commander; he is not dead, he is safe;" when a general acclamation of joy resounded on every side: and it was the most affecting sight to see this brave prince liberated from the danger he was in, by his own captains covered with contusions.—Embracing the soldier who had thrown his life upon the chance of saving his chief, he presented him with his belt, and promoted him upon the spot. "It was the loss of our commander that inspired us with new courage," said one of the by-standers, "and made us repulse the cavalry of the enemy; and we were resolved to have gone forward in search of our prince, and would have penetrated even to the spot where Bonaparte was stationed, or have perished in the attempt." With some assistance the marshal remounted another horse, and the first words this brave old officer spoke were, "Now then, my fine fellows, let us charge them again." The horse killed under the marshal, was that presented to him by the

Memoir of Marshal Blucher.

Prince Regent of England, upon which he placed a high value.

The artillery of the Prussians being dispersed along the front of an extended line, could not be easily withdrawn, and several pieces fell into the hands of the French. Blucher's official dispatch limits the number of guns thus lost to fifteen, which Bonaparte extends to *fifty*. But the infantry, retiring regularly, and in masses impenetrable to the cavalry of the pursuers, amply preserved that high character of discipline, which, in the campaigns of the preceding year, had repeatedly enabled them to convert retreat and disorder of one day, into advance and victory upon the next.*

* Of all the leading characters who have been distinguished by their skill and bravery in the late important contest, none have shone with greater lustre than the intrepid Prussian hero—the GALLANT BLUCHER. This veteran was brought into the world at his father's house in Pomerania, in the year 1742, and entered into the Prussian service at the age of fifteen. From this it will appear that he is now (1816) seventy-four years of age, and has been fifty-nine years a soldier! He commenced his military career during the nine years' war, in the reign of the great Frederick; and found a warm patron in the enterprising General Reten.—Blucher entered into a cavalry regiment, called the Red Hussars, in which he continued near twenty years, and from which he retired in disgust, on account of a junior officer having been promoted over his head. He now spent several years in retirement, being never noticed by Frederick II. whose unforgiving temper would never attend to the solicitations of Blucher's friends, for his restoration to rank in the army. The succeeding monarch, Frederick William II. however, restored him to the service, and

Memoir of Marshal Blucher.

In their retreat, which they continued during the night, they took the direction of Tilly; and in the next morning were followed by General Thielmann with the left wing, who, after evacuating the village of Sombref, which he had maintained during the whole preceding day, formed the rear-guard of the

from this period his advance was rapidly promoted. He was made colonel in his own regiment of hussars, which formed part of the force under the command of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792, when the latter entered France. He was engaged in the several succeeding campaigns against that country, until, in 1795, the Prussian monarch was prevailed upon to withdraw his troops from acting against his bitterest enemies. For eleven years after this peace, Prussia enjoyed uninterrupted repose, until she was, in 1806, again embroiled with France. In this year was fought the fatal but decisive battle of Jena, where Blucher, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, had the command of a division. The disastrous issue of that battle has never been ascribed to this veteran, while his masterly retreat was little less glorious for him than the most brilliant victory. He first hastened with the troops under his command towards the Oder, in order to effect a junction with the corps of Hohenloe, who had taken that direction. Before, however, he was able to accomplish that object, the prince had been obliged to capitulate to a far superior force of the enemy.—With the most extraordinary presence of mind and resolution, he instantly adopted a plan, which would never have occurred to a less enterprising commander. In order to draw off the French from the Oder, and remove them from the heart of the Prussian monarchy, that time might be gained for provisioning the fortresses, for the assembling of the dispersed Prussian corps, and for the advance of the Russian corps, auxiliaries, he turned aside with his little army of about 10,000 men, into the duchy of Mecklenburgh, where he was unexpectedly joined by a corps which had been commanded by the Duke of Saxe Weimar. He

Memoir of Marshal Blucher.

prince marshal's army. Being at length joined by the fourth corps under General Bulow, the Prussian army was once more concentrated in the neighbourhood of the village of Wavre, ten miles behind the scene of their former defeat; and the utmost exer-

then continued his progress through Mecklenburg to the Elbe.—Bonaparte, highly mortified at his escape, had detached a force several times, as numerous as his own, to intercept him.

During this memorable retreat, he had to contend with three divisions of the French army, Murat being on his left flank, Soult on his right, and Bernadotte (the present Crown Prince of Sweden) in front. In this critical situation, Blucher threw himself into Lubeck, where, supported by the Trave, he hoped he should be able to defend himself, at least for some time. The following day, however, the French forced the gates, and, after a most sanguinary conflict, stormed the city. The brave veteran, convinced that further resistance would tend only to an useless sacrifice of the lives of his brave men, now reduced to 9500, who, after fourteen days of hard fighting, were destitute of provisions, ammunition, and every necessary, yielded reluctantly to a capitulation, and submitted to the overwhelming force by which he was surrounded. He was conducted as a prisoner of war to Hamburg. Fortunately, he was not long doomed to continue there, having been exchanged for General Victor. He was afterwards sent by his sovereign, at the head of a division, to assist in the defence of Swedish Pomerania; but the treaty of Tilsit, so humbling to Russia and Prussia, intervened, and put an end to his operation. Blucher, on this event, once more retired to his native province, where he remained until the destruction of the French army in Russia afforded a reasonable hope to Prussia of liberating herself from the chains of France. Then, indeed, the merits of the veteran hero were not overlooked; nor did his ardent soul hesitate in obeying the call of his country, and the command of his sove-

tions were used by Blücher, and the officers under him, to place it in a condition for renewing the conflict.

The slaughter of the Prussians in this unsuccessful battle was very great ; and is estimated at twenty thousand men, being one-fourth part of their whole army. Bonaparte, however, only rates it at fifteen thousand, *hors de combat* ; an enormous loss, especially considering, that owing to the inveteracy of

reign. He was placed at the head of the Prussian forces ; and to find out what consummate talents and unparalleled energy he displayed in the fulfilment of his appointment, the reader must be acquainted with the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, in Silesia, Saxony, and France. In him the French found a most vigilant and active enemy ; and his exertions were never relaxed, until the overthrow of the Bonapartean authority. For his eminent services his sovereign conferred upon him the title of Prince. When the allied monarchs paid a visit to England, the brave veteran was in the train of the King of Prussia ; and the zeal of the English nation, in testifying their attachment and veneration for his important services, was unbounded. On one occasion, the effervescence of public feeling was like to have been attended with serious consequences. Having rode out into Hyde Park, upon a Sunday, when the park was full of company, he alighted to indulge in the exercise of a walk, when being recognised by the company, crowds upon crowds pressed around him to gratify their natural curiosity. As the rumour spread, the multitude increased ; the pressure became intolerable ; the veteran hero, enclosed in the centre, without an avenue for retreat, was jostled almost to exhaustion, and was literally in danger of being *killed with their kindness* ; when he was extricated from his perilous situation by the interference of some active persons present. The military exploits of the marshal from the 16th to the 18th June, 1815, will be found incorporated in the body of the work.

The Duke of Wellington retreats towards Brussels.

the combat, and the steady valour displayed by the vanquished in their retreat, there were hardly any prisoners taken.

The events of the 16th had a material influence on the plans of the generals on either side. While the Duke of Wellington was proposing to follow up his advantage at Quatre Bras, by attacking Ney at Frasnes, he received, on the morning of the 17th, the news that Blucher had been defeated on the preceding day, and was in full retreat. This left the Duke no option but to fall back to such a corresponding position, as might maintain his lateral communication with the Prussian right wing; since to have remained in advance would have given Bonaparte an opportunity either to have placed his army betwixt those of England and Prussia, or, at his choice, to have turned his whole force against the Duke's army, which was inferior in numbers. The English general accordingly resolved upon retreating towards Brussels; a movement which he accomplished in the most perfect order, the rear being protected by the cavalry under the gallant Earl of Uxbridge.

Bonaparte had also taken his resolution. The defeat of the Prussians had placed it in his option to pursue them with his whole army, excepting those troops under Ney, who were in front of the Duke of Wellington. But this would have been to abandon Ney to almost certain destruction; since, if he was unable, on the preceding day, to make any impression on the van of the British army alone, it was

Bonaparte brings his whole force against the British army.

scarcely possible he could withstand them, when supported by their main body, and joined by reinforcements of every kind. In the supposed event of Ney's defeat, Bonaparte's rear would have been exposed to a victorious English army, while he knew, by repeated experience, how speedily and effectually Blucher could rally his Prussians, even after a severe defeat. He made it his choice, therefore, to turn his whole force against the English, leaving only Grouchy and Vandamme, with about twenty-five thousand men, to hang upon the rear of Blucher; and, by pursuing his retreat from Sombref to Wavre, to occupy his attention, and prevent his attempting to take a share in the expected action with the British.

It is most probable that Bonaparte expected to find the English army upon the ground which it had occupied during the 16th. But the movement of his own forces from St. Amand and Ligny to Frasnès, had occupied a space of time which was not left unemployed by the Duke of Wellington. The retreat had already commenced, and the position at Quatre Bras was, about eleven in the forenoon, only occupied by a strong rear-guard, destined to protect the retrograde movement of the British general.—Bonaparte put his troops in motion to pursue his retreating enemy. The day was stormy and rainy in the extreme; and the roads, already broken up by the English artillery in their advance and retreat, were very nearly impassable. The cavalry, whose duty it became to press upon the rear of the English,

The Duke of Wellington takes his position on the field of Waterloo.

were obliged to march through fields of standing corn, which being reduced to swamps by the wetness of the season, rendered rapid movement impossible.

The British army reaped no small advantage from these circumstances. They had to defile through the narrow streets of the village of Genappe, and over the bridge which there crosses a small river, in the very face of the pursuing enemy. Their cavalry once or twice attacked the rear-guard, but received so severe a check from the Life Guards and Oxford Blues, that they afterwards left the march undisturbed. Had the stormy state of the weather, and the difficulties of the road not intervened to impede the advance of the French, the Duke of Wellington's army might have experienced a serious loss in the narrow defile of Genappe.

With little further interruption, the British army retired upon the ever-memorable field of Waterloo, and there took up a position on the road to Brussels. The Duke had caused a plan of this, and some other military positions in the neighbourhood of Brussels, to be made some time before by Colonel Carmichael Smyth, the chief engineer ; when he had declared, that if he had to defend Brussels, he would make his stand at Waterloo. He now called for that sketch, and with the assistance of Sir William de Lancy and Colonel Smyth, made his dispositions for the momentous events of the next day. The plan itself, a relic so precious, was rendered yet more so by being found in the breast of Sir William de Lancy's coat when he fell, and stained with the

Strength of the hostile armies.

blood of that gallant officer. It is now in the careful preservation of Colonel Smyth, by whom it was originally sketched.

When the Duke of Wellington had made his arrangements for the night, he established his headquarters at a petty inn in the small village of Waterloo, about a mile and a half in the rear of the position. The army slept upon their arms upon the ridge of a gentle declivity, chiefly covered with standing corn.

Bonaparte's forces were gradually coming up during the evening, and occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English army. The villages in the rear were also occupied by his army. The emperor established his head-quarters at Planchenoit, a small village in the rear of the position.

Here it may be proper to give as accurate a statement as possible of the strength of the hostile armies. The army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, amounted to 38,000 British, 8000 King's German Legion, 14,000 Hanoverians, and 22,000 Belgian, Nassau, and Brunswick troops, forming a total of 82,000 men, of which 62,000 were infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 5000 artillery, engineers, &c. When from this we deduct 15,000 men employed in garrisons, with the killed and wounded at Quatre Bras, detachments, &c. the whole effective force of the British and Belgic armies in the field of Waterloo, could scarcely exceed 55,000 men, who were divided into two corps d'Armee, under the orders of the Prince of Orange,

Memoir of Gen. Lord Hill.

and Lieut. Gen. Lord Hill.* The cavalry were commanded by Lieut. Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge; the artillery by Col. Sir George Adam Wood; and the engineers by Col. Smyth. Nearly the whole was a green army. The allies were chiefly young soldiers; and even the ranks of the British veteran

* Lieutenant-General Lord Hill, who is colonel of the 94th regiment, is the fourth son of Sir John Hill, of Hawkstone, near Shrewbury, who has had not less than sixteen children. He was born August 1, 1772, and (a circumstance which appears to be little known) received the first rudiments of his education under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Winfield, who kept a public academy at Chester. By those who knew him in his boyish days at that city, we have been informed, that he was more remarkable for the absence, than for the possession of those bright and active qualifications which have since so eminently distinguished his riper years, and that there appeared in him a disposition by no means suited to the profession of arms. Those who had these views of the hero, either greatly misconceived his character, or it essentially changed its complexion as he advanced in life. At an early period he entered the army, and passed through all the gradations of military rank with that credit and esteem which are the certain accompaniments of correct conduct and gentlemanly manners.—Gen. Hill accompanied Sir Ralph Abercrombie to Egypt, where his conduct was highly meritorious, though it does not appear that any particular service occurred in which he had an opportunity of signalizing himself there. His next service was in the Peninsula; where, from the commencement to the end of the war, his military talents have shown themselves to be of the most distinguished order. At Talavera, after having repulsed the French in various attacks, he received a wound, which did not, however, deprive the service of his exertions. To recapitulate all the services of this distinguished character, would be to recite almost every action in the Peninsula. Scarcely do we read a single dispatch from the



Engraved for John Evans New York.

Dreadful storm during the night.

regiments were filled with inexperienced recruits and volunteers from the militia. The order of battle was very compact, as from the extremity of the left to that of the right wings of the contending armies, was scarcely a mile and a half in extent.

The French army, commanded by the Emperor Napoleon, after deducting the losses of the 15th and 16th, and the two corps under Marshal Grouchy, must at least have amounted to 85,000 men, mostly veteran troops of one nation, and possessing every requisite to give effect to their operations.

Thus arranged, both generals and their respective armies waited the arrival of morning, and the events it was to bring. The night, as if the elements meant to match their fury with that which was preparing for the morning, was stormy in the extreme, accompanied by furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and the loudest thunder. Both armies had to sustain this tempest in the exposed situation of an open bivouac,

noble commander in chief, in which his name is not coupled with the highest encomium. In every enterprise of difficulty—in every affair that called for promptness and decision—that involved danger or delicacy, this gallant hero was mostly selected by the profound judgment of Lord Wellington; a circumstance which, of itself, speaks volumes in his praise. For his distinguished services, when the conquest of the enemy rendered his exertions no longer necessary, his prince called him to the highest dignity of the state; and his grateful country cheerfully contributed of her pecuniary resources, to enable him to maintain that rank so deservedly conferred.

The French elevated by their success at Ligny.

without means either of protection or refreshment. But though these hardships were common to both armies, yet (as was the case previous to the battle of Agincourt), the moral feelings of the English army were depressed below their ordinary tone, and those of the French exalted to a degree of confidence and presumption, unusual even to the soldiers of that nation.

The British could not help reflecting that the dear-bought success at Quatre Bras, had produced, in appearance at least, no corresponding result: a toilsome advance and bloody action, had been followed by a retreat equally laborious to the soldier; and the defeat of the Prussians, which was now rumoured with the usual allowance of exaggeration, had left Bonaparte at liberty to assail them separately, and with almost his whole force. If to this it was added, that their ranks contained many thousand foreigners, on whose faith they could not implicitly depend, it must be owned there was sufficient scope for melancholy reflections. To balance these, there remained their confidence in their commander, their native undaunted courage, and a stern resolution to discharge their duty.

Their opponents, on the other hand, had forgotten in their success at Ligny, their failure at Quatre Bras; or, if they remembered it, their miscarriage was ascribed to treachery; and it was said that Bourmont and other officers, had been tried by a military commission, and shot, for having, by their misconduct, occasioned the disaster. This rumour, which

Apparent pleasure of Bonaparte at sight of the British army.

had no foundation but in the address with which Bonaparte could apply a salve to the wounded vanity of his soldiers, was joined to other exulting considerations. Admitting the partial success of Wellington, the English duke, they said, commanded but the right wing of the Prussian army, and had in fact shared in Blucher's defeat, as he himself virtually acknowledged by imitating his retreat. All was glow and triumph. No one supposed the English would halt or make head, until they reached their vessels; no one doubted that the Belgian troops would join Bonaparte in mass; it would have been disaffection to have supposed there lay any impediment to their next day's march to Brussels: and all affected chiefly to regret the tempestuous night, as it afforded the despairing English the means of retiring unmolested. Bonaparte himself shared, or rather affected to share, these sentiments; and when the slow and gloomy dawning of the 18th of June, showed him his enemies still in the possession of the heights which they occupied over night, and apparently determined to maintain them, he could not suppress his satisfaction, but exclaimed, while he stretched his arm towards their position with a motion as if to grasp his prey; '*These English, I have them now.*'

The field of battle at Waterloo is easily described. The forest of Soignies, a wood composed of beech trees growing uncommonly close together, is traversed by the road from from Brussels, a long broad causeway, which, upon issuing from the wood,

Description of the field of battle.

reaches the small village of Waterloo. Beyond this point the forest assumes a more straggling and dispersed appearance, until about a mile further, where at one extended ridge called the heights of Mount St. John, from a farm house on the Brussels road, the trees almost entirely disappear, and the country becomes quite open.* Along this eminence the British forces were disposed in two lines. The second, which lay behind the brow of the hill, was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the *elite* of the infantry, occu-

* *The following description of this forest is from the able pen of Walter Scott, Esq.*

Thy wood, dark Soignies, holds us now,
Where the tall beeches' glossy bough
 For many a league around,
With birch and darksome oak between,
Spreads deep and far a pathless screen
 Of tangled forest-ground.
Stems planted close by stems defy
The adventurous foot—the curious eye
 For access seeks in vain ;
And the brown tapestry of leaves,
Strewed on the blighted ground, receives
 Nor sun, nor air, nor rain.
No opening glade dawns on our way,
No streamlet, glancing to the ray,
 Our woodland path has cross'd ;
And the straight causeway which we tread,
Prolongs a line of dull arcade,
Unvaryin' through the unvaried shade,
 Until in distance lost.

Position of the troops of the Duke of Wellington.

pied the crest of the ridge, and were on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. John towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses. The first, which is situated in the advance of the hedge, and at the bottom of the declivity, is called La Haye Sainte (the holy hedge), the other placed at the extremity of the fence is called Fer la Haye. The ground at Fer la Haye becomes woody and broken, so that it afforded a strong point at which to terminate the British line upon the left. A road runs from Fer la Haye to Ohain, and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the Duke of Wellington kept up a communication by his left with the Prussian army. The centre of the English army occupied the village of Mount St. John, on the middle of the ridge, just where the great causeway from Brussels divides into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight line to Charleroi.

A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharpshooters occupied the house and farm yard of La Haye Sainte, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road as far as the enclosures of Hougomont, and turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right upon a deep ravine. Advanced posts from thence occupied the village called Braine la Leude, on which point there was no engagement. The ground in front of

Position of the French.

the British position sloped easily down into lower ground, forming a sort of valley, not a level plain, but a declivity varied by many gentle sweeps and hollows, as if formed by the course of a river. The ground then ascends in the same manner to a ridge opposite to that of Mount St. John, and running parallel to it at the distance of twelve or fourteen hundred yards. This was the position of the French. It is in some points nearer, and in others more distant from the heights or ridges of Mount St. John, according as the valley between them is of greater or less breadth.

The valley between the two ridges is entirely open and unenclosed, and on that memorable day bore a tall and strong crop of corn, which the trampling of horses, and conflicts of soldiers, during the battle, had converted into the appearance of stubble.

Now see'st thou aught in this lone scene
Can tell of that which late hath been?—

A stranger might reply,
“ The bare extent of stubble-plain
Seems lately lighten'd of its grain;
And yonder sable tracks remain
Marks of the peasant's ponderous wain,
When harvest-home was nigh.
On these broad spots of trampled ground,
Perchance the rustics danced such round
As Teniers loved to draw;
And where the earth seems scorch'd by flame
To dress the homely feast they came,
And toil'd the kerchief'd village dame
Around her fire of straw.”

The morning of the 18th.

So deem'st thou—so each mortal deems,
Of that which is from that which seems :
 But other harvest here
Than that which peasant's scythe demands,
Was gather'd in by sterner hands,
 With bayonet, blade, and spear.
No vulgar crop was theirs to reap,
No stinted harvest, thin and cheap !
Heroes before each fatal sweep
 Fell thick as ripen'd grain ;
And ere the darkening of the day,
Piled high as autumn shocks, there lay
The ghastly harvest of the fray,
 The corpses of the slain !

SCOTT.

In the centre of the valley, about half-way betwixt the two ridges, and situated considerably to the right of the English centre, was the Chateau de Goumont, or Hougoumont. This is (or rather *was*) a gentleman's house of the old Flemish architecture, having a tower and a species of battlement. It was surrounded on one side by a large farm yard, and on the other, opened to a garden fenced with a brick wall. The whole was encircled by an open grove of tall trees, covering a space of about three or four acres without any underwood. This chateau, with the advantages afforded by its wood and gardens, formed a strong *point d'appui* to the British right wing. In fact, while this point was maintained, it must have been difficult for the French to have made a serious attack upon the extremity of our right wing.

Such was the position of the British army on this

Appearance of the French Cavalry.

memorable morning. The dawn was attended by the same broken and tempestuous weather, by which the night had been distinguished. But the interval of rest, such as it was, had not been neglected by the British, who had gained time to clean their arms, distribute ammunition, and prepare every thing for the final shock of battle. Provisions had also been distributed to the troops, most of whom had thus the means of breakfasting with some comfort.

CHAPTER V.

Commencement of the engagement—Memoir of the Duke of Wellington—Enthusiastic ardour of the Prussians to share the danger and glory of the contest—Furious attack at Hougoumont—Desperate and courageous resistance—Staunch firmness of the British infantry—Battle of Mount St. John, &c.

EARLY in the morning of the 18th, numerous bodies of French cavalry began to occupy all the ridge of La Belle Alliance, opposite to that of Mount St. John, and as our horse were held in readiness to encounter them, an engagement was expected between the cavalry of both armies, which our infantry supposed they would only view in the capacity of spectators. The desertion of a French officer of cuirassiers, attached to the party of Louis XVIII. conveyed other information; he assured

Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

Lord Hill, and subsequently the Duke of Wellington,* that a general attack was intended, which would commence on our right by a combined force of infantry and cavalry.

* The illustrious subject of this memoir, whose brilliant achievements have deservedly acquired him the admiration of the world, and the gratitude of kingdoms, rescued by his prowess from the grasp of tyranny, is the third son of the late Earl of Mornington, and brother to the present Marquis Wellesley.

“ A noble peer,
Great England’s glory, and the world’s wide wonder,
Whose dreadful name late through all Spain did thunder,
And Hercules’ two pillars standing near,
Did make to quake and fear :
Fair branch of honour, flower of chivalry !
That fillest England with thy triumph’s fame,
Joy have thou of thy noble victory,
And endless happiness of thy own name
That promiseth the same ;
That through thy prowess and victorious arms
Thy country may be freed from foreign harms,
And Britain’s great and glorious name may ring
Through all the world, fill’d with thy wide alarms ;
Which some brave Muse may sing
To ages following.”

SPENSER, *Author of the Fairie Queen.*

He was born on the 1st of May, 1769, at Dangan Castle, county of Meath, Ireland, in which country his ancestors have resided since the reign of Henry VIII. though of English extraction. At an early age he was sent to Eton school, and while yet a youth, discovered a predilection for the army, into which he entered, as ensign, at the age of eighteen. At the age of twenty-three, he bore the rank of captain in the 18th regiment of light dragoons,

In the mean while, the communication between our army and the Prussians by our left flank had been uninterrupted. One sentiment, however, seemed unanimous among the Prussians—an eager and en-

from which corps, on the 30th of April, 1793, he was appointed to the majority of his present regiment, the 33d; and in the latter end of the same year, held the rank of lieutenant colonel. Early in 1794, he embarked with his regiment in the little army under the Earl of Moira, destined to raise the royal standard in Brittany, but which was afterwards ordered to the Netherlands, and landed at Ostend. In that unfortunate campaign, Colonel Wellesley gave striking proofs of that military fame which has since developed itself to the world. Soon after his return to England, his brother, the Earl of Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley), was appointed Governor General of India; and among the troops sent thither, was the colonel's regiment, which he also accompanied. The intrigues of Tippoo Saib, who was ever the inveterate enemy of England, soon made it apparent that that crafty prince, in conjunction with the French, meditated an enterprise, with a view of destroying the English dominion in Asia; and the Earl of Mornington prepared to act against Tippoo. For this purpose the Madras army, under General Harris, was ordered to concentrate at Villore; about which time also the Nizan's contingent, amounting to 6000 men of the company's troops, and an equal number of his native infantry, marched to join the British army. In order to place the Nizan's force on a respectable footing, and render it as efficient as possible, the commander in chief deemed it proper to augment it with the 33d regiment, giving the general command of the British force thus serving, to Colonel Wellesley. The first object to which the operations of the army were directed, was an attack upon Seringapatam, the sultan's capital; and on this enterprise the march commenced, March 10th, 1799. Hearing of the approach of the British forces, which amounted to nearly 40,000 men, Tippoo collected his army, and went forth to

thusiastic desire to press forward to obtain their share of the glories and dangers of the day, and to revenge their losses upon the 16th. An officer of engineers who had been dispatched so early as four

give them battle, but being severely handled, he was obliged to retreat, and shut himself up in Seringapatam. In the subsequent siege and storming of the place, Colonel Wellesley performed a very active part, being intrusted with several important and hazardous duties. After the surrender of the city, Colonel Wellesley was appointed its governor, and was also employed as one of the commissioners for the final regulation and establishment of this new conquest, and the removal of the families of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saib from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. Nothing of material consequence intervened until he became major general, to which rank he attained in 1802, when the Mahratta war commenced, during which he fully established his military character. This war was occasioned by the hostile attitude assumed by Schindiah and Holkar, who having refused to withdraw their army from the frontiers of our ally, the Swbahdar of the Deccan, were ordered to be attacked by the British forces. The command of these was given to Major General Wellesley, with directions to march against the enemy, who were posted with an army of 38,500 cavalry, and 10,500 infantry at Julgory, at the foot of the Adjuteen Ghaunt, in the Deccan. He immediately commenced his march against the fortress of Amednagar, the pittah of which was carried with great gallantry and spirit; and on the 14th of August, 1803, batteries were erected against that fort; two days afterwards it surrendered, by which the most important advantages were secured. On the 24th, the confederate chiefs entered the Nizan's territories, and directed their march towards Hyderabad, the capital. General Wellesley, being joined on the 21st of September by Colonel Stephenson, with his accustomed promptitude marched to meet the enemy, before they could strengthen themselves in their position. The British force formed two divisions,

Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

in the morning, accompanied Bulow's division already on its march to assist their English allies; the common soldiers cheered him and his companions as they passed.—“Keep your ground, brave English!”

the better to accelerate their march. General Wellesley, on the 23d, reached Maulnier; when he heard that the confederates were strongly posted at Assye, which has a river in front, whose steep banks were impassable for artillery. But nothing could damp his ardour; he instantly determined to attack them without waiting an union with Colonel Stephenson.

Having made the necessary arrangements, he commenced the action on their left, where the guns and infantry were posted, with his small force of 4,500 men, only 2000 of which were Europeans; the enemy having upwards of 40,000, and two hundred pieces of artillery. To weigh against this frightful preponderance of the enemy, General Wellesley had nothing to depend upon but his own skill, and the valour of his little army. He undauntingly advanced under a most galling fire, and succeeded in driving the enemy from their guns. A stratagem, adopted by the latter during the action, had nearly proved fatal to the British army; after having attacked and routed two lines of the Mahrattas, and in the act of pursuing the fugitives, a numerous body of the enemy had thrown themselves on the ground, and laid as if slain; under this idea, they were passed by the British soldiers, when they rose upon their feet, and seizing the cannon which had been left in the rear, began playing with their utmost fury on the force under General Wellesley. Encouraged by this unexpected turn, the enemy's infantry rallied, and facing about upon their pursuers, the contest was renewed with increased obstinacy. Observing this dangerous state of affairs, the English commander put himself at the head of the 78th regiment, and a battalion of sepoys, and charging the Mahrattas who had seized the guns, again compelled them to flight, and being charged by the small force of British cavalry, the victory was rendered complete. The action lasted three hours,

 Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

was the universal exclamation in German, and in such broken English or French as they found to express themselves—"Only keep your ground till we come up!"—and they used every effort accordingly to get

when the enemy abandoned the field of battle, leaving all their artillery and stores. This gallant action procured for General Wellesley the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, on the 3d of May, 1804, and on the 1st of September following, he was elected a knight companion of the Bath. On his return to Europe, his military exploits having procured an honourable and advantageous peace for British India, he was returned to parliament for Newport, in Hants. In April, 1806, he was united to the Hon. Miss Pakenham, daughter of the late, and sister of the present Lord Longford, by whom he has several children. Shortly after this he was appointed chief secretary for Ireland, in which office he evinced the ability of a sound statesman. In our expedition to Copenhagen, General Wellesley had a command: and was one of the commissioners appointed by the British commander, to arrange terms for the capitulation of that city. Previous to his being sent to defend Portugal, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: but we must here end our sketch, for to pursue it to the present period would be to relate the history of the peninsular war, with which his honourable name is inseparably identified.—We can do no more at present than barely give a list of those victories, with their respective dates, which he acquired in Spain and Portugal, by which he succeeded in driving the French armies out of those countries, and leading his victorious legions into the kingdom of France.

Rolia and Vimiera		August 17 and 21		1808
Corunna	- -	January 16	- -	1809
Oporto	- -	May 12	- -	1809
Talavera	- -	July 27	- -	1809
Busaco	- -	September 27	- -	1810
Coimbra	- -	October 7	- -	1810

 Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

into the field. But the movement was a lateral one, made across a country naturally deep and broken, rendered more so by the late heavy rains; and on the whole, so unfit for the passage of a large body

Barossa	-	-	March 5	-	-	1811
Fuente de Honore			May 5	-	-	1811
Almeida	-	-	May 11	-	-	1811
Albuera	-	-	May 16	-	-	1811
Aroyo del Morino			October 28		-	1811
Ciudad Rodrigo	-		January 19		-	1812
Badajos	-	-	April 6	-	-	1812
Madrid	-	-	May 14	-	-	1812
Almarez	-	-	May 19	-	-	1812
Salamanca	-	-	July 22	-	-	1812
Castalla	-	-	May 12	-	-	1813
Vittoria	-	-	June 21	-	-	1813
Pyrenees	-	-	July 25, 26, 27, 28			1813
St. Sebastian		-	September 9		-	1813
Bidassoa	-	-	October 9		-	1813
Pampeluna	-	-	October 31		-	1813
Neive	-	-	Dec. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13			1813
Orthes	-	-	February 27		-	1814
Toulouse	-	-	April 10	-	-	1814

It is well known, that after the first overthrow of Napoleon, he was appointed to represent his sovereign at the court of Louis XVIII. and on the perfidious return of the usurper, was selected to command the armies of the allies in the Netherlands. After having succeeded so effectually in his mission as to pave the way for the second restoration of Louis, he has confided to him, by the concurrent sanction of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and his own government, the chief command of 150,000 troops, destined to remain in France, until all the stipulations of the late treaty be fulfilled by the French court.—His military career in rank is as follows :

 Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

of troops, with their cavalry, artillery, &c. that even these officers, well mounted as they were, and eager to make their report to the department from which they had been dispatched, did not reach the field of battle till after eleven o'clock.

Ensign in the 41st Regiment	25th December, 1787.
Lieutenant do	23d January, 1788.
Lieutenant 12th Light Dragoons	25th June, 1789.
Captain 5th Regiment	30th June, 1791.
Captain 18th Light Dragoons	31st October, 1792.
Major 33d Regiment	30th April, 1793.
Lieutenant Colonel, do.	30th September, 1793.
Colonel in the Army	3d May, 1796.
Brigadier General	17th July, 1801.
Major General	29th April, 1802.
Lieutenant General	June, 1808.
Field Marshal	21st June, 1813.

If in the number and splendour of his victories, the Duke of Wellington stands alone, the titles and honours which he bears, are probably more numerous than those of which any other individual can boast. We will just recite them as we find them in a dedication to his grace, more as an object of curiosity, than as conferring additional lustre on his transcendent merits.

Duke, Marquis, and Earl of WELLINGTON.

Marquis of Douro.

Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley.

One of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

Field Marshal of his Majesty's Forces.

Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, Blue.

Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

·Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath.

Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.

The engagement had already commenced. The clouds of cavalry, which had mustered thicker and thicker upon the skirts of the horizon, in the line of La Belle Alliance, began now to advance forward. ‘One of our best and bravest officers,’ says a writer who describes this terrible contest, ‘confessed to me a momentary sinking of the heart, when he looked round him, considered how small was the part of

Prince of Waterloo in the Netherlands.

Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and a Grandee of Spain of the first class.

Duke of Vittoria.

Marquis of Torres Vedras, and Count of Vimiera in Portugal.

Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece.

Of the Spanish Military Order of St. Fernando.

Knight Grand Cross of the imperial military order of Maria Theresa.

Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Military Order of
St. George of Russia.

Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia.

Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Portuguese Military Order
of the Tower and Sword.

Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Military Order of the Sword
of Sweden.

Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Elephant of Denmark;
of William of the Low Countries;

Of the Annunciade of Sardinia; of Maximilian Joseph
of Bavaria;

Of the Crown of Rue, the Family Order of the
King of Saxony.

The Order of Fidelity of the First Class. of the Grand Duke of
Baden, and of several others.

And Commander of the Forces of his Britannic Majesty in France,
And of the Army of his Majesty the King of the
Low Countries, &c.

Disadvantages of the British troops overbalanced by their bravery.

our force properly belonging to Britain, and recollected the disadvantages and discouraging circumstances under which even our own soldiers laboured. A slight incident re-assured him. An aid-de-camp galloped up, and after delivering his instructions, cautioned the battalion of the guards along whom he rode, to reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. "Never mind us," answered a veteran guards-man from the ranks—"Never mind us, sir, *we know our duty.*" From that moment my gallant friend said, that he knew the hearts of the

To attempt a delineation of the character of this distinguished nobleman, "whose conduct," in the language of the Prince Regent, "is above all human praise," is a task we must decline.

The chief whose deeds of fame renew'd
 Bankrupt a nation's gratitude,
 And to whose noble heart must owe
 More than the meed she can bestow.
 For not a people's just acclaim,
 Not the full hail of Europe's fame,
 A prince's smiles, the state's decree,
 The ducal rank, the garter'd knee,
 Not these such pure delight afford,
 As that when hanging up his sword,
 He well may think, "This honest steel
 Was ever drawn for public weal;
 And, such was rightful Heaven's decree,
 Ne'er sheathed unless with victory!"

To inherit his title, and to share his fortune, he has already two sons; the eldest, Charles, born on the 3d of January, 1808.

The French commence the action at Hougoumont.

men were in the right trim, and that though they might leave their bodies on the spot, they would never forfeit their honour. A few minutes after, the unparalleled conflict began. The first attack of the French, as had been announced by the royalist officer, was directed towards the British right, embracing the part of Hougoumont, and the high road to Nivelles, that commanded the centre of our line. The fury of this attack was such, that a body of sharp-shooters of Nassau Ussingen, to whom the grove of Hougoumont had been confided, abandoned that part of the post, and the chateau itself must have been carried but for the stubborn and desperate courage of a detachment of the guards, to whom the defence was intrusted. Colonel M'Donald was obliged to fight hand in hand among the assailants, and was indebted to personal strength, no less than courage, for his success in the perilous duty of shutting the gates of the court-yard against the French. The Spanish general Don Miguel Alava and his aid-de-camp, exerted themselves to rally the scattered sharp-shooters of Nassau, and Don Nicholas de Mennuisir, was particularly distinguished for his activity.* By the rout of these light troops, and the

* "What would the Spaniards have done," said a prince who distinguished himself in the peninsular war—"What would the Spaniards have done, Don Miguel, in a fire like that of Waterloo?"—"At least, sir," retorted the Castilian, "they would not, like some of your father's citizens, have fled without seeing their enemy."

Firmness of the Brunswick infantry.

consequent occupation of the wood by the French, Hougoumont was, for the greatest part of the action, completely an invested and besieged post, indebted for its security to the walls and deep ditches with which the garden was surrounded, but much more to the valiant and indomitable spirit of those by whom the defences were maintained. The assailants, after several desperate attempts to carry the post, amidst a destructive fire from the garrison through holes in the garden walls, found it necessary to retire.

Still, however, Hougoumont being in some degree insulated, and its defenders no longer in communication with the rest of the British army, the French cavalry were enabled to pour round it in great strength, to the attack of the British right wing.—The light troops who were in advance of the British line, were driven in by the fury of the general charge, and the foreign cavalry who ought to have supported them, gave way on every side. The first forces who offered a steady resistance, were the black Brunswick infantry. They were drawn up in squares, as most of the British forces were, during this memorable action, each regiment forming a square by itself, not quite solid, but nearly so, the men being drawn up in several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded space enough to draw up the battalions in line, where they were ordered to deploy, and the regiments were posted in reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess-board. It was therefore impossible for a squadron

Battle of Hougoumont---Immense slaughter.

of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without finding themselves at once assailed by a fire in front from that which was in the rear, and on both flanks from those betwixt which it had moved forward. Often during that day was the bloody experiment resorted to, and always without success.

Yet although this order of battle possesses every efficient power of combination for defence against cavalry, its exterior is far from imposing. The men thus occupy the least possible share of ground, and those who saw the furious onset of the French cavalry, with a noise and clamour that seemed to unsettle the firm earth over which they galloped, and beheld the small detached black masses which, separated from each other, stood each individually exposed to be overwhelmed by the torrent, could scarcely help trembling for the event. But the cool, steady, and rapid fire of the infantry, with the excellent practice of the artillery, made dreadful gaps in the squadrons of cavalry, and the event seemed no longer doubtful. Still this was far from repressing the courage of the French, who pressed on in defiance of every obstacle, and of the continued and immense slaughter which was made among their ranks. Or, if the attack of the cavalry was suspended for a space, it was but to give room for the operation of their artillery, which, within the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, played upon so obvious a mark as our solid squares afforded, with the most destructive effect. “One fire,” says a general officer, “struck down seven men of the

The French attack Mount St. John.

square with whom I was for the moment; the next was less deadly—it only killed three.” Yet under such a fire, and in full view of these clouds of cavalry, waiting, like birds of prey, to dash upon them where the slaughter should afford the slightest opening, did these gallant troops close their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades, and resume, with stern composure, that close array of battle, which their discipline and experience taught them, affording the surest means of defence.

After the most desperate efforts on the part of the French to push back our right wing, and particularly to establish themselves on the road to Nivelles, and after a defence on the part of the British, which rendered these efforts totally unavailing, the battle slackened in some degree in this quarter, to rage with greater fury, if possible, towards the left and centre of the British line.

It was now upon the village of Mount St. John, and making use of the causeway or high-road between that hamlet and La Belle Alliance, that Bonaparte precipitated his columns, both of infantry and cavalry, under a tremendous fire of artillery, that was calculated to sweep every obstacle from their course. The ridge of the hill was, upon this occasion, very serviceable to the British, whose second line was posted behind it, and thus protected, in some degree, from the direct fire, though not from the showers of shells which were thrown on purpose to annoy the troops, whom the enemy, with reason, supposed to be thus sheltered. The first line

Advantageous position of the British at La Haye Sainte.

derived some advantage from a straggling hedge, (the same which, as already mentioned, gives the name of La Haye Sainte to the farm) extending along their centre and left, and partly masking it, though, so far from being strong enough to serve as an intrenchment or breastwork, it could be penetrated by cavalry in almost every direction. Such as it was, however, its line of defence, or rather the troops by whom it was occupied, struck awe into the assailants; and while they hesitated to advance to charge it, they were themselves, in their turn, charged and overwhelmed by the British cavalry, who, dashing through the fence at the intervals which admitted of it, formed, charged, and dispersed the battalions which were advancing upon their line. The French cavalry came up to support their infantry, and where the British were in the least dispersed, which, from the impetuosity of the men and horses, was frequently unavoidable, our troops suffered severely. This was particularly experienced by some distinguished regiments, whom the military fashions of the times has converted into hussars, from that excellent old English establishment formerly called light dragoons, which combined with much activity, a degree of weight which cannot belong to troopers more slightly mounted.

After the most undaunted exertions on the part of the officers, seconding those of the Earl of Uxbridge, our light cavalry were found to suffer cruelly in their unequal encounter with the ponderous and sword-proof cuirassiers, and even with the lancers,

Successful charge of the Life Guards, Oxford Blues, and Scotch Greys.

Many were killed, and several made prisoners.— Even the German Legion, so distinguished for discipline and courage during the peninsular conflicts, were, on this occasion, unable to sustain the heavy shock of the French cavalry. And thus, Bonaparte's dexterity in finding resources, and in applying them, had been such, that the French appeared to have a superiority in that very description of force which it was supposed impossible he could be adequately provided with.

It was upon this occasion that Sir John Elley, now quarter-master general, requested and obtained permission to bring up the heavy brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Oxford Blues, and the Scotch Greys, and made a charge, the effect of which was tremendous. Notwithstanding the weight and armour of the cuirassiers, and the power of their horses, they proved altogether unable to withstand the shock of the heavy brigade, being literally rode down, both horse and man, while the strength of the British soldiers was no less pre-eminent when they mingled and fought hand to hand. Several hundreds of French were forced headlong over a sort of quarry or gravel pit, where they rolled a confused and undistinguishable mass of men and horses, exposed to a fire which, being poured closely into them, soon put a period to their struggles. Amidst the fury of the conflict, some traces occurred of military indifference, which merit being recorded.— The Life Guards coming up in the rear of the 95th, which distinguished regiment acted as sharp-

Instances of personal bravery.

shooters in front of the line, sustaining and repelling a most formidable onset of the French, called out to them, as if it had been on the parade in the Park, "Bravo, ninety-fifth! do you *lather* them, and we'll *shave* them!" Amid the confusion presented by the fiercest and closest cavalry fight which had ever been seen, many individuals distinguished themselves by feats of personal strength and valour.

For known in deeds of honour and renown,
His country's cause each Briton feels his own;
Keen ardour sparkles in the heroes' eyes,
And all, alike, surrounding death despise.

Even officers of rank and distinction, whom the usual habits of modern war render rather the directors than the actual agents of slaughter, were in this desperate action, seen fighting hand to hand like common soldiers. Sir John Elley, who led the charge of the heavy brigade, was himself distinguished for personal prowess. He was at one time surrounded by several of the cuirassiers; but, being a tall and uncommonly powerful man, completely master of his sword and horse, he cut his way out, leaving several of his assailants on the ground, marked with wounds, sufficiently proving the unusual strength of the arm which inflicted them.

"You are uncommonly savage to-day," said an officer to his friend, a young man of rank, who was arming himself with a third sabre, after two had been broken in his grasp: "What would you have

Furious attack of the French cavalry.

me do," answered the other, by nature one of the most gentle and humane men breathing, "we are here to kill the French, and he is the best man to-day who can kill most of them;"—and he again threw himself into the midst of the combat.

Among these should not be forgotten Shaw, a corporal of the Life Guards, well known as a pugilistic champion, and equally formidable as a swordsman. He is said to have slain, or disabled, ten Frenchmen with his own hand, before he was killed by a musket or pistol shot.

The French cavalry were beaten off, and about 3000 of their infantry threw down their arms, and were sent off to Brussels as prisoners. But the contest was far from being decided; it raged still with the utmost vehemence, and had paused in some degree upon the centre and left wing, only to be renewed with double ferocity in the right.

The most furious attack was commenced by successive columns of cavalry, rolling after each other like waves of the sea. The Belgian horse, who were appointed to oppose them, again gave way, and galloped from the field in great disorder. The English advanced line of guns was stormed by the French, the artillery-men having received orders to leave them, and retire within the squares of infantry.

French cavalry in large bodies now rode furiously up and down amongst our small squares of infantry, seeking with determined courage some point where they might break in upon them, but in vain. In the mean time, a brigade of horse-artillery, com

Instances of intrepidity displayed by the French officers.

manded by the lamented Major Norman Ramsay, opened its fire upon the columns. They retreated repeatedly, but only to advance with redoubled obstinacy, and to renew such efforts as seemed impossible for human strength and courage to withstand. As often as the cavalry retreated, our artillery-men, rushing out of the squares in which they had found shelter, again proceeded to work their pieces, and made a destructive fire on the retiring squadrons.

Many of the French officers and men evinced the most desperate and devoted zeal in the cause which they had so rashly and unhappily espoused. Two officers of artillery were particularly noticed, who, being in a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the instant the cavalry retreated, loaded one of the deserted guns which stood near, and fired it upon the horsemen. A French officer observed that this manœuvre was repeated more than once, and cost his troop many lives. At the next retreat of his squadron, he stationed himself by his gun, waving his sword, as if defying the British officers again to approach it. He was instantly shot by a grenadier, but prevented, by his self-devotion, a considerable loss to his countrymen.

Another officer of rank, after leading his men as far as they would follow him towards one of the squares of infantry, found himself deserted by them, when the British fire opened, and instantly rode upon the bayonets, throwing open his arms as if to welcome the bullet that should bring him down.

The coolness of the British soldiers was so strik-

Critical situation of the British army.

ing as almost to appear miraculous. Amid the infernal noise, hurry, and clamour of the bloodiest action ever fought, the officers were obeyed as if on the parade; and such was the precision with which the men gave their fire, that the aid-de-camp could ride round each square with perfect safety, being sure that the discharge would be reserved till the precise moment when it ought regularly to be made. The fire was rolling or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze, upon which it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Immediately on the French horse retiring, the line was formed to resist the infantry that succeeded, and these interludes with the infantry were considered as intervals of refreshment. On the word being given 'for the square to resist cavalry,' the line was again thrown into an impenetrable mass. One Dutch corps, having not formed with sufficient rapidity, were cut to pieces.

The situation of our army became very critical. The Duke of Wellington had placed his best troops in the first line; they had already suffered severely, and the quality of those who were brought up to support them, was, in some instances, found unequal to the task. He himself saw a Belgian regiment give way at the instant it crossed the ridge of the hill, in the act of advancing from the second into the first line. The Duke rode up to them in person, halted the regiment, and again formed it, intending to bring them into the fire himself. They accordingly shouted, *Forward! Forward!* but as soon as

Cowardly conduct of a foreign regiment.

they crossed the ridge of the hill, and again encountered the storm of balls and shells, from which they had formerly retreated, they went to the right about once more, and left the Duke to seek more resolved followers where he could find them.

A foreign regiment of *****, extremely well horsed and appointed, and soldier-like in appearance, were ordered by the Commander in Chief of the cavalry, to place themselves under line, on the brow of a hill; and, from being raw soldiers, he would not put them to any difficult service, but gave the conditional orders, that if the charge he was about to make with an English brigade succeeded, they were then to ride in and cut away.—for the performance of this, the most earnest entreaty was made, and the strongest promise given, that every attention should be paid to the direction—the charge was made and completely succeeded, and the enemy in the greatest confusion. The noble Duke then looked round for his gallant supporters—but they had turned their horses' heads, and were trotting away towards Brussels. An aid-de-camp was immediately dispatched, and, notwithstanding that he even took the colonel by the collar, to stop them was impossible; and it was then begged as a favour, and entreated of them not to go further than Waterloo—it was all useless; to Brussels he would go, and to Brussels he went. This, although a great disappointment, was attended with such outre (and it may be said comic) effect, that every one who noticed it, notwithstanding their serious occupation, were con-

The farm-house of La Haye Sainte carried by the French.

vulsed with excessive laughter, and among them the noble Duke himself. The men, however, to do them credit, it is understood, have brought their colonel to an account.

While the contest was carried on with the most sanguinary effect from the centre to the right, the French obtained a temporary success on the left of the centre. Some Hanoverian sharp-shooters had been stationed in the farm of La Haye Sainte: by incessantly pouring in fresh troops in great masses, the French succeeded in occupying the communication between them and the army, and when all the ammunition of the besieged was expended, they carried the farm-house. This enabled them, about two o'clock, to occupy a small mound on the left of the road, near where the hedge joins the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and just opposite the gate of the farm; and of this position they retained the possession, until they were subsequently dislodged from it by the grand advance of the British army. The battle still continued to rage on both sides with desperate intrepidity. The Duke of Wellington was every where present, exposed to the hottest fire in the most conspicuous position. While he at one time was reconnoitring the enemy, and issuing the necessary orders, he at other times performed all the duties a military man could discharge. He was successively general of division, commander of corps, and colonel of a regiment; and never, indeed, were his exertions more needful; for Napoleon, finding all the efforts of his troops baffled by the steady

Undiminished fury of the contest.

bravery of the English soldiers, determined, if possible, to overwhelm them by rapid and incessant attacks of superior numbers. To this end, therefore, under cover of as terrific a cannonade as was ever witnessed upon a field of battle, he formed his cavalry into masses, brought up the whole of the elite of his guards with his reserves, and made a most furious attack upon their centre. The French cavalry rushed forwards to seize the artillery, but was assailed in its turn by the British cavalry: the carnage became terrible; neither side gave way a single step; fresh columns reinforced them, and the charge was renewed.

Thrice was the position on the point of being forced; and thrice were they repulsed by the firmness of the British soldiery. These three assaults, made without interruption, and with all the characteristic impetuosity of the French, caused a very serious loss to the English, and required the most vigorous resistance on their part. Their cavalry were driven to the rear of the infantry; their advanced artillery were taken. Every battalion was instantly in squares; and, though repeatedly charged by the French cavalry, not a square was broken.

Often did the Duke of Wellington throw himself into one of these squares, and await the result of a charge, with full confidence in the steadiness of his men, and in full determination to stand or fall with them. The troops advanced by echelons to cover the guns. On arriving nearly at the line which their cavalry had occupied, the French infantry ap-

Dreadful slaughter.

peared, and it became necessary for some battalions to deploy, though almost surrounded by the French horse. At times, for about an hour, the conflict appeared doubtful: the carnage which ensued was such as the British army had never before experienced. At this time the most murderous effect was felt by the third battalion of the first guards, and the rifle battalion of the king's German Legion. Files upon files were carried out to the rear from the bloody scene; the ammunition of many of the English soldiers being expended, some fell back to procure it, which, with their continual loss, quite unsteadied the line; which, at one critical moment, was only held up by main strength, the sergeants placing their pikes against the men's backs,—not for want of courage in the latter (for they fought most courageously), but because their thinned ranks scarcely enabled them to withstand the overwhelming force brought against them.

Dreadful as the slaughter was, it would have been much greater had it not been for the state of the ground, which was thoroughly soaked with rain; for although this, by preventing dust, afforded better aim to the artillerymen, many shots never rose after they touched the ground: the shells also often buried themselves, and when they exploded, threw up the mud like a fountain.

The Duke now advanced his squares to recover and protect the guns: he recalled to the centre the cavalry which had been detached to the flanks; and at length the French cavalry were again driven off:

Bonaparte makes a tremendous charge.

and in this manner, till seven in the evening, repeated attacks were incessantly made along the whole front of the centre, by cavalry and infantry, supported by upwards of three hundred pieces of artillery, whose ravages on the British line was dreadful. Aware of this destruction, Bonaparte made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard,* which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the Duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English, and three battalions of Brunswickers; in a moment they were compelled to abandon the artillery; which, though the English

* This charge is well described by Walter Scott, in his
“Field of Waterloo.”

On came the whirlwind—like the last
But fiercest sweep of tempest blast—
On came the whirlwind—steel-gleams broke
Like lightning through the rolling smoke,
The war was waked anew.
Three hundred cannon-mouths roar'd loud,
And from their throats, with flash and cloud,
Their showers of iron threw.
Beneath their fire, in full career,
Rush'd on the ponderous cuirassier,
The lancer couch'd his ruthless spear,
And hurrying as to havoc near,
The Cohorts' eagles flew.
In one dark torrent broad and strong,
The advancing onset roll'd along,
Forth harbinger'd by fierce acclaim,
That from the shroud of smoke and flame,
Peal'd wildly the imperial name.

Attack at Hougoumont—The chateau, &c. on fire.

could not withdraw them for want of horses, the French did not venture an attempt to recover.

Meantime, the British position at Hougoumont on the right, continued to be as furiously attacked, but more successfully defended. The slaughter in that point was dreadful; at length the French had recourse to shells, by which they set on fire a large stack of hay in the farm-yard, and afterwards the chateau itself; which, continuing to blaze high in the air, spread a thick black cloud of smoke, rising far above that of the cannonade, and seemed to announce that some dreadful catastrophe had befallen the little garrison. Many of the wounded had been carried into the chateau for shelter, and, horrible to relate, could not be rescued, but perished in the fire.

The person of the Duke of Wellington, as we have already said, was repeatedly exposed to the greatest dangers. While he stood on the centre of the high-road in front of Mount St. John, several guns were levelled against him, distinguished as he was by his suite, and the movements of the officers about him.

The balls repeatedly grazed a tree on the right hand of the road, which tree now bears his name. "That's good practice," observed the Duke to one of his suite. "I think they fire better here than in Spain." Riding up to the 95th, when in front of the line, and even then expecting a formidable charge of cavalry, he said, "Stand fast, 95th—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?"

At another time, when many of the best and

Biographical sketch of Lieutenant Col. Canning.

bravest men had fallen, and the event of the action seemed doubtful even to those that remained, he said, with the coolness of a spectator, who was beholding some well-contested sport—"Never mind, we'll win this battle yet." To another regiment, then closely engaged, he used a common sporting expression; "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest."

Sir William Delancy, struck by a spent ball at the moment he was conversing with the Duke, fell from his horse—"Leave me to die," he said to those who came to assist him, "attend to the Duke."

Sir Alexander Gordon received his mortal wound while expostulating with the General on the personal danger to which he was exposing himself.—Lieutenant Colonel Canning,* and many of our lost

* Lieutenant Col. Charles Fox Canning, who fell in this tremendous conflict, had served with the Duke of Wellington as his aid-de-camp during the whole of the peninsular war, and was with him in every action and siege from the battle of Talavera to that of Orthes. At the termination of the war he went to Brussels, where his regiment was quartered, and was preparing to go into the field with it, when the Duke accidentally met him in the street, when he was received with the usual cordiality, and the next day he had the inexpressible gratification of finding himself restored, without solicitation, to the honourable situation he had held through so many campaigns. The affecting particulars of his last moments we cannot help repeating, as a proof, that among many other splendid qualities, the Duke of Wellington eminently possesses the power of engaging the affections of his officers, whose most anxious thoughts seem always directed toward the safety of their commander. Towards the close of the action of the 18th,

Determined bravery of the British troops.

heroes died with the Duke's name on their expiring lips.

A general officer being under the necessity of stating, that his brigade was reduced to one-third of its numbers, and that a temporary relief seemed a measure of peremptory necessity ; " Tell him," said the Duke, " what he proposes is impossible. He, I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." " It is enough," returned the general ; " I and every man under my command, are determined to share his fate."

The gallant Duke was often observed to look at his watch, and heard to exclaim, " Would to God that either the night or the Prussians would come."

The evening was now approaching, and still Napoleon had gained no material advantage. He then advanced his favourite regiment, composed of the choicest soldiers of whom France could boast.—They approached under cover of a shower of grape and canister shot, and horse-nails, which made a tremendous impression on the English. The line of

Lieutenant Colonel Canning received orders from the Duke to carry a message of importance to a distant part of the line : he had delivered it and was returning, when a grape-shot struck him in the stomach. He fell, and his friend Lord March immediately rode up to his assistance. As he approached him, the Colonel raised himself up, and with eagerness demanded if the Duke was safe ? Being assured that he was, he seemed satisfied, and said—" God bless him !" Then taking the hand of the nobleman who had so kindly come to his assistance, he had just strength enough to say—" God bless you !" and expired.

Heroic behaviour of a sergeant.

the third battalion of the first regiment of guards, (which, with the rifle battalion of the King's German, were the manœuvrers of the day), was so dreadfully shattered by this murderous fire, that apprehensions were for a short time entertained that they could not stand. Every officer exerted himself to the utmost; animated by their example, the men fought with desperate valour; and in half an hour their proud antagonists were totally annihilated.

An incident occurred at this critical juncture, which is too honourable to the individual by whom it was achieved, to pass unnoticed.—One of the surviving colour-sergeants of the third battalion of the 1st guards (five out of seven who had entered the field having fallen), being for a moment afraid lest they should give way, picked up the coat of their gallant Ensign Pardoe, who had been killed, and stripped by the French during some of their manœuvres. The sergeant waved the coat covered with his blood, before his men, whom he cheered, telling them, that while their officers bled, they should not esteem their lives dear; and rightly judging, that, at such a time, if any thing would stimulate his comrades, this would be effective.—The result proved as he foresaw. The men fought with all their might, and in half an hour they cut the 105th regiment entirely to pieces, and took one stand of colours.*

* The Sergeant, in a letter to his wife, had mentioned the fact of his waving an officer's coat, and cheering the men in a critical

Extract of a letter.

During this time Bonaparte remained on the ridge of the hill, whence he could best behold what passed, contemplating, with a stern countenance, this scene of horrible slaughter. The more numerous

moment of the battle. A friend who had seen this letter, made some inquiry respecting the circumstance; and the Sergeant, in a subsequent letter, adds the following particulars:—

“When the French 105th regiment advanced up the low ground, their cannon at the same time raked us with grape, canister, and horse-nails; and our line at two different times was so shattered, that I feared they could not stand: in fact, I was for a moment really afraid they would give way; and if they had, it would have gone hard with the whole line, as our third battalion, and the rifle battalion of the King’s German Legion, were the manœuvrers of the day. Our officers exerted themselves to the very uttermost, as also the sergeants. Major Gen. Maitland, Colonel Lord Saltoun, Colonel Reeve, and Brigade Major Gunthorp, were in the front face of the square, in the hottest part of the contest. Our loss at this time was most tremendous. It was at this juncture that I picked up Ensign Pardoe’s coat, which was covered with his blood, lying on a horse. The Ensign belonged to our battalion; he was killed and stripped by the plunderers during some of our manœuvres. I stepped about twenty-five paces before the line, and waved the coat, cheering the men, and telling them, that while our officers bled, we should not reckon our lives dear. I did this a second time, when the Imperials came up against us, and I believe it had its desired effect. I thought if any thing would stimulate the men, this would be effective. An officer having just sacrificed his life for his country’s safety—ours were pledged for the same. The men fought with all their might; and in half an hour, as I mentioned, we cut the 105th regiment all to pieces, and took one stand of colours. Had I known, however, that the coat would have been mentioned further than to my wife, I should not have inserted it, but let that well-known fact have been mentioned by

Indignation of Bonaparte at his unsuccessful enterprise.

the obstacles which presented themselves, the more his obstinacy appeared to increase. He became indignant at these unforeseen difficulties ; and, far from hesitating to push to extremities an army which reposed boundless confidence in him, he ceased not to pour down fresh troops, and to give orders to march forward,—to charge with the bayonet,—to carry by

others. I do not like to commend myself, as this is empty praise. I only mention facts to describe the manœuvres, and our thoughts and experience, and how the action terminated. I had nothing in view but the safety and honour of my country, and to *conquer or die*. God knows my heart ; and through his merciful support I feared no man ; no, not death itself, nor any thing in league with it. I believe this was the animated spirit of the British line, and they did their duty ; but no more. This our country expects, and is ever worthy of it.”

Extract of a Letter from Sergeant Ewart, of the Scotch Greys, who took a French eagle ; dated Rouen, June 18, 1815.

“ The enemy began forming their line of battle about nine in the morning of the 18th : we did not commence till ten. I think it was about eleven when we were ready to receive them. They began upon our right with the most tremendous firing that ever was heard, and I can assure you, they got it as hot as they gave it ; then it came down to the left, where they were received by our brave Highlanders. No men could ever behave better ; our brigade of cavalry covered them. Owing to a column of foreign troops giving way, our brigade was forced to advance to the support of our brave fellows, and which we certainly did in style : we charged through two of their columns, each about 5000 : it was in the first charge I took the eagle from the enemy ; he and I had a hard contest for it ; he thrust for my groin—I parried it off, and cut him through the head ; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark, by my

French eagle taken by a sergeant of the Scotch Greys.

storm. He was repeatedly informed from different points, that the day went against him, and that the troops appeared to be disordered; but his only reply was, *Forward, forward!* One general sent him information that he could not maintain his position, being dreadfully annoyed by a battery, and wished

throwing it off with my sword by my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which went through his teeth; next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who, after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet—but he very soon lost the combat, for I parried it, and cut him down through the head: so that finished the contest for the eagle. After which I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the General, saying to me,—“You, brave fellow, take that to the rear; you have done enough until you get quit of it;” which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I retired to a height, and stood there for upwards of an hour, which gave a general view of the field; but I cannot express the horrors I beheld: the bodies of my brave comrades were lying so thick upon the field, that it was scarcely possible to pass, and horses innumerable. I took the eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamations of thousands of the spectators that saw it.”

The eagles taken belonged to the 45th and 105th regiments, and were superbly gilt, and ornamented with gold fringe. That of the 45th was inscribed with the names of Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, Friedland, &c. being the battles in which this regiment, called the *Invincibles*, had signalized itself. The other was a present from Louisa to the 105th regiment. One was much defaced with blood and dirt, as if it had been struggled for, and the eagle was also broken off at the pole, as if from the cut of a sabre; but it was nevertheless preserved. It is worthy of observation, that the eagles taken, were only given to their respective regiments at the *Champ de Mai*.

Dissatisfaction of the French army.

for instructions how to elude its murderous fire—
“ *Let him storm the battery !*” said Bonaparte, and turned his back on the aid-de-camp who brought the message.

A general hesitation and inquietude now began to prevail through the French army: several dismounted batteries were retiring, and the great numbers of wounded men, who were detached from their columns, spread a serious alarm as to the result of the battle. A profound silence succeeded those proud acclamations and shouts of joy, with which the French soldiers, in the anticipation of victory, had begun the day. With the exception of the infantry of the guard, all the troops were engaged, and exposed to a most destructive fire. The action had now continued for many hours with almost unabating violence, yet without any decisive result.

It was at this moment, when all his efforts proved unavailing, that tidings were brought to Napoleon of the advance of the Prussians, who were opening on his right flank, and threatening his rear. Disregarding these reports, he constantly affirmed that these pretended Prussians were no other than Grouchy's corps; and even abused several aides-de-camp who brought the intelligence, charging them with fear, and dismissing them with ill-humour.

After such an answer, many of them, ashamed to have been mistaken, heedlessly advanced towards the Prussian Yagers; and notwithstanding these kept up a sharp fire against them, they approached near enough to be either killed or taken prisoners.

Letter from an officer in the Guards.

In a short time, however, Bonaparte was undeceived by a furious attack on the part of the Prussians: part of the 6th corps was detached to sustain this new shock, until Marshal Grouchy's corps, which was every moment expected, should come up. By his orders, General Labedoyere announced the arrival of Grouchy, and that he was attacking the enemy; and this false intelligence he also spread among the soldiers as he rode along the line.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER IN
THE GUARDS.

“ About a quarter past eleven o'clock, A. M. the battle commenced by the French making a most desperate and impetuous attack upon Hougoumont, against which, as well as La Haye Sainte, they directed their most furious efforts during the whole day. Hougoumont, however, appeared to be the principal object they had in view, since its possession would have uncovered our flank, and have afforded them a most fatal advantage over our line; in a word, had it been lost, nothing short of its being retaken at any rate, could have repaired the misfortune. The French opened upon us a dreadful cross-fire, from three hundred pieces of artillery, which was answered with a most uncommon practice from our guns; but to be just, we must own that the French batteries were served in a manner that was terrible. During this period, the enemy pushed his troops into the orchard, &c. &c., and after its being contested for some hours, he succeeded in reducing our

Dreadful conflict at Hougoumont.

men to nothing but the house itself. Every tree, every walk, every hedge, every avenue had been fought for with an obstinacy almost unparalleled; and the French were killed all round, and at the very door of the house, to which, as well as a hay-stack, they succeeded in setting fire; and though all in flames over their heads, our brave fellows never suffered them to penetrate beyond the threshold; the greatest part of the wounded on both sides were, alas, here burned to death! In consequence of this success on the part of the French, the Coldstream and third regiment were ordered into the wood, from whence they drove the enemy; and every subsequent struggle they made to re-possession themselves of it proved abortive. The places of these two battalions of guards were supplied by two of our gallant friends, the Black Brunswickers, who seemed, like salamanders, to revel in the smoke and flames. The 2nd and 3d battalions of the first regiment were formed with the two battalions of Brunswickers into hollow squares, on the slope and summit of the hill, so as to support each other; and in this situation we all lay down, till between three and four o'clock, P. M., in order to avoid the storm of death, which was flying close over our heads, and at almost every moment carrying destruction among us: and it is, you will allow, a circumstance highly creditable to those men, to have lain so many hours under a fire which, for intensity and precision, was never, I believe, equalled; with nothing else to occupy their attention, save watching their com-

Affecting anecdote of two officers.

panions falling around them, and listening to their mournful cries. It was about the time I have just named, that the enemy, having gained the orchard, commenced their desperate charges of cavalry, under cover of the smoke which the burning houses, &c. had caused; the whole of which the wind drifted towards us, and thus prevented our observing their approach. At this period the battle assumed a character beyond description interesting, and anxiously awful. Bonaparte was about to use against us an arm which he had never yet wielded but with success. Confidently relying upon the issue of this attack, he charged our artillery and infantry, hoping to capture the one, and break the other, and, by instantly establishing his own infantry on the heights, to carry the Brussels road, and throw our line into confusion. These cavalry, selected for their tried

MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

TWO BRITISH OFFICERS.

These officers were most intimate friends, who, after doing their duty calmly through nearly the whole of the murderous day, found themselves both unhurt at a late hour in the evening; when one of them playfully called to the other, who stood at a little distance, "I always told you they never would hit me; they never did it in Spain, and they have not done it to-day." He had hardly spoke, when he was shot dead on the spot. His friend stood for a few moments motionless; then burst into tears, flew to the body, threw himself down beside it, and sobbed over it, inarticulately repeating several times, "My only friend." The officer who relates the affecting story, says, that so completely did the scene overcome every one who witnessed it, there was not a dry eye among them.

Bravery of the French cuirassiers—Anecdote.

gallantry and skill (not their height or mustaches), who were the terror of northern Europe, and had never yet been foiled, were first brought up by the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment. Never was British valour and discipline so pre-eminent as on this occasion; the steady appearance of this battalion caused the famous cuirassiers to pull up; and a few of them, with a courage worthy a better cause, rode out of the ranks, and fired at our people and mounted officers, with their pistols, hoping to make the face of the square throw its fire upon them, and thus become an easy prey: but our men, with a steadiness no language can do justice to, defied their efforts, and did not pull a single trigger. The French then made a sudden rush, but were received in such a manner, and with a volley so well directed, as at once to turn them; they then made an attempt on

ADVENTURE OF A KNAPSACK.

Shortly after the first mentioned accident occurred at Quatre Bras, the Duke of Wellington dismounted from his horse, and causing his staff to do the same, sat upon the ground for a short time. The regiments as they came up, entered the field by the road near which his Grace was: the balls were perpetually flying in amongst them; one carried off the knapsack of a private from his shoulder; it went to a considerable distance, but the man ran after it, and brought it back, amidst the loud laughter of all those who saw the thing happen.

SANG FROID OF A CUIRASSIER.

The cuirassiers received some terrible fires as they approached our infantry; men and horses came tumbling down in heaps. One of them fell wounded a few yards before our bayonets: a Scotch-

Impenetrable firmness of the British infantry.

the 2nd battalion, and the Brunswickers, with similar success; and, astonished at their own failure, the cool intrepidity of their opponents, and the British cheers, they faced about. This same game was played in succession by the Imperial Horse Guards, and Polish Lancers, none of whom could at all succeed in breaking our squares, or making the least impression upon them whatever. During their attacks, our cavalry rushed out from between the squares, and carried havoc through the enemy's ranks, which were nearly all destroyed.

“ Thus discomfited, Bonaparte renewed his cannonade, which was destructive to a degree, preparatory to an attack of his whole infantry. I constantly saw the noble Duke of Wellington riding backwards and forwards, like the genius of the storm, who, borne upon its wings, directed its thun-

man went out in the fury of the moment to dispatch him. The Frenchman was sitting on the ground: he saw his destroyer coming, with the point of the bayonet extended towards him, yet he did not change countenance, except to put on a smile of whimsical remonstrance just as his enemy came up close: shrugging up his shoulders, and extending his hands, he exclaimed, in a tone of good-humoured appeal,—“ *Ah, Monsieur Anglais!*” The Highlander was softened. “Go to the rear, you b——,” was the reply. The poor Frenchman made a shift to crawl, but with smiles on his face, where his conqueror directed.

Some of the cuirassiers made their way to the very rear of our lines, and two or three came back galloping, shouting, and brandishing their swords. They received the whole fire of a battalion. One man still kept on his horse. He had the hardiness to cut with his sword at the infantry as he passed. A Hanoverian met

Activity and penetration of the British Commander.

ders where to burst. He was every where to be found, encouraging, directing, animating. He was in a blue coat, and a plain cocked hat, his telescope in his hand; there was nothing that escaped him, nothing that he did not take advantage of, and his lynx's eyes seemed to penetrate the smoke, and forestall the movements of the foe. How he escaped, that merciful power alone can tell, who vouchsafed to the allied arms the issue of this pre-eminent contest; for such it is, whether considered as an action by itself, or with regard to the results which it has brought about. Upon the cavalry being repulsed, the Duke himself ordered our second battalion to form line with the third battalion, and, after advancing to the brow of the hill, to lie down and shelter ourselves from the fire. Here we remained, I ima-

him in combat and wounded him: he would not give up his sword but to an officer; his enemy was on the point of putting him to death, when one of our officers interfered, and saved his life.

A letter from a Life Guardsman, speaking of the havoc made among the cuirassiers of the Imperial Guards, contains the following homely, but emphatical description:—"Until we came up with our heavy horses, and our superior weight of metal, nothing was done with the cuirassiers; unless one got now and then a cut at their faces, not one of them gave way: we therefore galloped at them, and fairly rode them down; when they were unhorsed, *we cracked them like lobsters in their shells*; and by the coming up of the cannon afterwards, thousands of them were squeezed as flat as *pancakes*."

THE INNISKILLING DRAGOONS.

The *Irish howl*, set up by the Inniskilling Dragoons, and other Irish regiments, is reported to have carried almost as much dismay

Attack made by the British guards.

gine, near an hour. It was now about 7 o'clock. The French infantry had in vain been brought in against our line, and, as a last resource, Bonaparte resolved upon attacking our part of the position with his veteran Imperial Guard, promising them the plunder of Brussels. Their artillery covered them, and they advanced in solid column to where we lay. The Duke, who was riding behind us, watched their approach, and at length, when within a hundred yards of us, exclaimed, "Up, Guards, and at them again!" Never was there a prouder moment than this for our country or ourselves. The household troops of both nations were now, for the first time, brought in contact, and on the issue of their struggle the greatest of stakes was placed.

into the ranks of the enemy, as their swords. The stubborn bravery and conduct of these regiments contributed much to the success of the day; it having been their lot to find themselves in the hottest part of the action, innumerable opportunities were afforded them of showing their devotion to their country's honour, and exalted sense of gallantry and duty. An officer of the Inniskilling says, "Our brigade charged, upset, and completely destroyed three large columns of infantry, at least 9,000. The old Inniskillings behaved most gallantly; they went into the field 1050, after the action they mustered about 100; some, however, were sent to escort prisoners."

FRATERNAL AFFECTION.

A sergeant of the Coldstream Guards, near the close of the dreadful conflict, impatiently solicited the officer commanding his company, for permission to retire from the ranks for a few minutes; the latter expressed some surprise at this request; the

Complete defeat of the French.

The enemy did not expect to meet us so soon ; we suffered them to approach still nearer, and then delivered a fire into them, which made them halt ; a second, like the first, carried hundreds of deaths into their mass ; and, without suffering them to deploy, we gave them three British cheers, and a British charge of the bayonet. This was too much for their nerves, and they fled in disorder. The shape of their column was tracked by their dying and dead, and not less than three hundred of them had fallen in two minutes to rise no more. Seeing the fate of their companions, a regiment of tirailleurs of the guard attempted to attack our flank ; we instantly charged them, and our cheers rendered any thing further unnecessary, for they never awaited our approach. The French now formed solid

other said, " Your honour need not doubt of my immediate return." Permission being given him, he flew to an adjoining barn, to which the enemy in their retreat had set fire, and from thence *bore on his shoulders his wounded brother*, who he knew lay helpless in the midst of the flames. Having deposited him safely for the moment, under a hedge, he returned to his post in time to share in the victorious pursuit of the routed enemy.

This brave sergeant now enjoys a freehold estate of ten pounds (would it were one hundred !) per annum, voluntarily given to him by the worthy Rector of Framlingham, in Suffolk, for his heroic and affectionate conduct.

CONDUCT OF THE CUIRASSIERS.

These men came out singly from their ranks, and often challenged individuals to the attack : some of our brave fellows wished to be allowed to accept the invitation, but were refused. If any

Pursuit of the retreating enemy.

squares in their rear, to resist our advance, which, however, our cavalry cut to pieces. The Duke now ordered the whole line to move forward: nothing could be more beautiful. The sun, which had hitherto been veiled, at this instant shed upon us its departing rays, as if to smile upon the efforts we were making, and bless them with success. As we proceeded in line down the slope, the regiments on the high ground on our flanks were formed into hollow squares, in which manner they accompanied us, in order to protect us from cavalry:—the blow was now struck, the victory was complete, and the enemy fled in every direction. His *deroute* was the most perfect ever known; in the space of a mile and a half along the road, we found more than thirty guns, besides ammunition wagons, &c. &c.”

of our men fired, they immediately rushed into that spot, and endeavoured to break the square. The 42nd opened and suffered them to come in, and in the centre destroyed a vast number.—They rode round the squares, as if they were fortified towns, and on neither sides did any one fire, until they were certain of their aim. Never was a battle fought with such courage and desperation. Every Englishman had made up his mind to find his grave where he stood.

STRANGE ENCOUNTER.

In the course of various charges, an officer pressing on, keeping his men up, felt a Frenchman throw his arms about his legs, and heard him imploring his protection to save his life. The person thus addressed was too much occupied with his work, to pay instant attention to the supplication, but the wounded man entwining his grasp still more closely, and entreating by the love of God, the officer put back the soldier who was about to plunge his

Movements of the Prussians—Anecdotes.

We now return to the Prussians, whose arrival the English army had been anxiously expecting for some time. It is but an act of justice to them to state, that our allies were in the wood close to the extreme left of the English so early as *two o'clock* on this day, though it was six or seven before they could advance so as to operate upon the enemy.

According to the Prussian official accounts, Marshal Blucher had put his army in motion at break of day. The corps of Borstel and Bulow were to march by St. Lambert, occupy a position there under cover of the forest near Fritschermont, and take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. Ziethen's corps was to operate on the right flank of the enemy by Ohaim, and

bayonet into the breast of the unfortunate Frenchman, who remained on the ground. His preserver was very soon in a situation of similar distress : he was struck by a grape shot, and, when scarcely supporting himself to the rear, he again passed the Frenchman, who was then sitting up gazing about him at the battle ;—they exchanged silent looks, and parted, to remain in utter ignorance of each other's fates, though the one had been the object of a service rendered by the other, the most important that man can render to his fellow.

A FRENCH SKIRMISHER.

It is affirmed, as an anecdote of the battle, that a French tirailleur took frequent advantage of the *body of a wounded British officer*, who had fallen far in advance during a charge made by his regiment. The Frenchman loaded his piece crouching down behind his fallen foe, and then went a little way in front to discharge it, returning again to prepare for another fire. During the continuance of this process, a conversation went on between

Movements of the Prussians—Anecdotes.

Thielman to follow slowly, and afford succour in case of need. But the two first of these corps had been placed on the east side of the river Dyle at Wavre ; they had to cross by a narrow bridge, and to add to the delay which this necessarily occasioned, the houses in the street leading to it were on fire, so that the infantry passed with difficulty, the cavalry and artillery with still greater, and the powder-tumbrils not at all till the fire was extinguished.—The passage too by the defile of St. Lambert, was far more difficult than had been expected ; so that when it was half-past four in the afternoon, only two brigades of Bulow's corps had reached the covered position assigned to them.

The decisive period was arrived ; there was not

the parties. “ You English will certainly be beaten by the emperor,” said the *tirailleur* ; “ you have no chance with us.” This was repeated several times, as he returned to his old shelter ; but at last the Frenchman came back with a whimsical smile on his countenance, and, instead of stopping as before to load his musket, exclaimed hastily—“ *Ah, ma foi*, (ah ! indeed) I believe you English will beat the emperor : *bon jour, mon ami !*” (good day, my friend.)

ANECDOTE OF THE MAJOR OF THE 42ND.

Major ———, of the 42nd Highlanders, preferring to fight on foot in front of his men, had given his horse to hold to a little drum-boy of the regiment. After some hard fighting with the French horse cuirassiers and lancers, and receiving several severe wounds, he fell, from loss of blood, near a brave private (Donald Mackintosh) of his corps, who was mortally wounded at the same instant. The little drummer had left the horse to assist poor Donald : a lancer seeing the horse thought him a fair prize, and

The Prussians conducted by an intelligent peasant.

a moment to be lost; and the general resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which were at hand. Their route was through the forest of Soignes, an extent of more than 30,000 acres, from whence Brussels is supplied with fire-wood. Fortunately the peasant who conducted them, was a man of more than common sagacity; and instead of coming out of the forest at Fritschermont, he proposed to descend into the valley lower down, and come out in a direction towards Planchenoit, nearly on the rear of the French reserves. "Then," said he, "we shall take them all." The situation of the Duke of Wellington at this period, was truly critical: nor can we reflect, without shuddering, how much, at this important moment, depended on

made a dash at him; this did not escape the watchful and keen eye of the dying Highlander, who, with all the provident spirit of his country, 'ruling strong even in death,' groaned out, "Hoot mon, ye munna tak that beast, it belongs to our captain here."—The lancer, understanding little of the dialect, and respecting less his writhing gestures, seized on the horse; Donald levelled his musket once more, shot him dead, and then fell back and expired himself. An officer of the cuirassiers, observing our poor major still bestirring himself, rode up, and stooping from his charger, aimed to dispatch him with his sword. The major seized his leg, and still grappled with him so stoutly, that he pulled him off his horse upon him. Another lancer observing this struggle, galloped up to relieve his officer, and attempted to spear the major, who, by a sudden jerk and exertion, placed the Frenchman, in the nick of the necessity, in his arms before him, who received the mortal thrust below his cuirass, and in this condition continued lying upon him with his sword in his hand for near ten minutes.

Bonaparte turns pale on the approach of the Prussians.

this peasant ; who, had he been less disposed to serve the allies, or less intelligent, might easily have led them into a hollow way where their cannon could not have passed. Bonaparte, who saw them coming out from the wood, asked one of his adjutants who they were ; the adjutant, looking through the glass, replied, “ They are Prussian colours : ” on which, it is said, he turned pale, and shook his head without answering a word. At length, convinced that the corps which he had so long and so obstinately taken for that of Marshal Grouchy, was really a Prussian corps, he began to look upon the affair as desperate, and saw that he had no other resource left, than to make one grand and decisive effort with the reserve of his guard, which was 15,000

The major, unconscious that he had received a death-wound, expected all this time to receive his own at his hand : at last the French officer raised himself, ran or staggered a few yards, and then fell to struggle or rise no more. Another private of his regiment now came up, and asked his major what he could do to assist him. “ Nothing, my good friend, but load your piece and finish me. ” — “ But your eye still looks lively, ” said the poor fellow ; “ if I could move you to the 92nd, fighting hard by, I think you will yet do well. ” With the aid of a fellow-soldier, he was moved as the man proposed, and soon seen by an intimate friend, Colonel Cameron, commanding the 92nd, who instantly ordered him every succour possible ; a blanket and four men carried him a little in the rear. While they were raising him, Colonel Cameron exclaimed, “ God bless you ! I must be off ; the devils (meaning the lancers) are at us again. I must stand up to them. ” He did so, and in a few minutes, stretched dead in the bed of honour, finished his mortal career of glory in the bold de-

The French re-animated by the momentary resolution of Bonaparte.

strong. They were, therefore, formed with some other troops into a fourth column.

Bonaparte at this moment assumed an appearance of resolution, which re-animated, in some degree, those who surrounded him. He advanced, ordering every one to follow him, which apparently showed that he wished to be in front. In fact, he made this movement at first, and for about ten minutes headed this formidable column, which remained to him as a forlorn hope; but on his arrival within 400 yards of three solid squares of troops that occupied a ridge, with a formidable artillery, and which ridge it was necessary to carry, he suddenly stepped aside beneath the broken ground of a ravine, where he was completely sheltered by the rising banks on each side, from all such cannon-balls as did not come in a straight line.

fence of his country. It is a pleasure to add, that the brave major is still alive, wearing the honourable decorations and marks of *sixteen* wounds received in this unequal and arduous conflict, and lame from a severe wound received before at the storming of Badajos.

Extract of a Letter from a Private in the Royal Horse Guards, (Blue), to his Father in Manchester.

“ Loveceines, 9 miles from Paris, Aug. 4, 1815.

“ This is the first opportunity I have had to write to you since the battle of Waterloo, which began on the 16th of June. Our regiment and the Life Guards covered the retreat. On the 17th we lost a great many men and horses. On the 18th, a general engagement took place. It began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and lasted till dark, when the French retreated in great disorder,

Discontent evinced by the French army.

He smiled, and addressed to this column, as it defiled before him, expressions of confidence and encouragement: he informed them, that his preceding operations had destroyed the British infantry and cavalry; and that they had only to support the fire of the artillery, which they were to attack with the bayonet. This address was received with shouts of *Vive l' Empereur*, which were distinctly heard over the British line, and gave rise to the idea, that Napoleon was charging in person. But these old warriors were led on by Marshal Ney: their march was very firm, and there was something peculiarly solemn in it. Their appearance was very fierce; a kind of savage silence reigned among them: their countenances presented a mixture of surprise and discontent, occasioned by their unexpected meeting with Napoleon, whom they supposed to have been at their head.

leaving behind them 222 pieces of cannon, and nearly 30,000 prisoners. The French had a great number of cavalry. We charged them four times, and found, to our surprise, that they wore steel jackets, upon which we had no other chance but to give point. There were about 10,000 of them, to 4,000 of our cavalry. We gave them such a shaving, that very few went back to tell their comrades of their disappointment. On the 18th we lost one major, killed; two colonels and four officers, wounded; and 100 men. I had a very near chance, for my horse was shot under me, but I received no other injury. Corporal Major Bell, who was in the field, neither killed nor wounded, but an eye-witness of the dreadful carnage of the day, was so much affected by it, that he became deranged, and on the 11th of July, when at Nanteuna, near Paris, cut his throat, and expired immediately."

Extract from Scott's Field of Waterloo.

Napoleon at the same time dispatched instructions to every point, in order to insure success to this movement, upon which he thought the victory must depend. His veteran guards marched up the hill with their usual intrepidity; the whole army resumed its courage, and the battle was renewed throughout the line with redoubled fury.

But on the British heart were lost
The terrors of the charging host;
For not an eye the storm that view'd,
Chang'd its proud glance of fortitude,
Nor was one forward footstep staid,
As dropp'd the dying and the dead.
Fast as their ranks the thunders tear,
Fast they renew'd each serried square;
And on the wounded and the slain
Clos'd their diminish'd files again,
Till from their line scarce spears' lengths three,
Emerging from the smoke, they see
Helmet and plume and panoply,—

Then wak'd their fire at once!
Each musketeer's revolving knell,
As fast, as regularly fell,
As when they practice to display
Their discipline on festal day.

Then down went helm and lance:
Down were the eagle banners sent,
Down reeling steeds and riders went,
Corslets were pierc'd, and pennons rent;
And to augment the fray,
Wheel'd full against their staggering flanks,
The English horsemen's foaming ranks
Forced their resistless way.
Then to the musket-knell succeeds
The clash of swords—the neigh of steeds—

Extract from Scott's Field of Waterloo.

As plies the smith his clanging trade,*
Against the cuirass rang the blade ;
And while amid their close array,
The well-serv'd cannon rent their way,
And while amid their scatter'd band
Rag'd the fierce rider's bloody brand,
Recoil'd in common rout and fear,
Lancer and guard and cuirassier,
Horsemen and foot—a mingled host,
Their leaders fall'n, their standards lost.

Several charges were made upon the left centre of the English army, and after severe conflicts, were successfully repelled ; one of these charges was directed against the part of the position occupied by the Brunswickers with such vigour, that for some time the victory was undecided, and more than doubtful.

The Duke, who felt that this moment was most critical, addressed the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which he so eminently possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, exposed to every kind of personal danger, again restored the combat. The imperial guard once more advanced, covered by their artillery, towards the spot where the British foot-guards were lying down to shelter themselves from the fire. The Duke now gave the command to attack them ;

* A private soldier of the 95th regiment compared the sound which took place immediately upon the British cavalry mingling with those of the enemy, to "*a thousand tinkers at work, mending pots and kettles.*"

Ineffectual attempt of the French Guards.

in an instant they sprang up, and, assuming the offensive, rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. This body of the guards had been previously disposed in line, instead of the squares which they had hitherto occupied. But the line was of unusual depth, consisting of four ranks instead of two. "You have stood cavalry in this order," said the General, "and can therefore find no difficulty in charging infantry." The effect of their three fatal cheers, and of the rapid advance which followed, was decisive; the enemy fled in the utmost confusion, in all directions.

The Duke of Wellington, perceiving the disorder of the French retreat, and the advance of the Prussians on their right flank, immediately commanded the British troops to form line, and assume the offensive. The whole line formed four deep, and, supported by the cavalry and artillery, rushed down the slopes and up the corresponding bank, driving before them the flying French, whose confusion became each moment more irretrievable. The tirailleurs of the imperial guard gallantly attempted to cover the retreat. They were charged by the British cavalry, and literally cut to pieces. Bonaparte saw the issue of the fight with the same accuracy as the English General, but with far different feelings. He had shown the utmost coolness and indifference during the whole day, and, while he praised the discipline and conduct of particular corps of the British army, whose gallantry he witnessed, he affected to lament their necessary and

Flight of Bonaparte.

inevitable destruction; but when he observed his own Imperial Guards recoil in disorder, the cavalry intermixed with the foot, and trampling them down, he said to his aid-de-camp, "*Ils sont meles ensemble!*" (They are all in confusion :) he then looked down, shook his head, and became quite pale. There now appeared two large bodies of British cavalry in rapid advance on each flank; and as the operations of the Prussians had extended along his right, and were rapidly gaining his rear, Bonaparte was in great danger of being made prisoner. He then pronounced the fatal words, "It is time to save ourselves." His immediate attendants, about ten or twelve in number, scrambled along with him out of the hollow way, and gaining the open plain, all fled as fast as the general confusion would admit. Meanwhile the front attack of the English, and that of the Prussians upon the flank, met with slight opposition.

The sun shone out just as the English army had deployed into line for the general charge, as if to shed his setting glories upon the conquerors of that dreadful day; when the Duke of Wellington gave the animating command to assume the offensive.—The line advanced with their gallant commander at their head, unmindful of fatigue, forgetting the losses they had sustained, and even regardless of wounds which many of them bore; and with the utmost spirit and activity, rushed like a torrent on the foe.

The fire of the enemy, from one hundred and

Confusion and disorder of the French in their retreat.

fifty pieces of artillery, did not stop them for a single moment; in a short time the French artillerymen deserted their guns, cut loose their traces, and mingled in the flight, which was now become universal; the fugitives trampling down those who yet endeavoured to keep their ranks.

The first line had hardly the vestige of military order when it was thrown back on the second, and both became then united in one general and undistinguished flight. Baggage-wagons, artillery-carts, guns dismounted, and all the impediments of a hurried flight, covered the field as well as the causeway; the corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the still more miserable wounded, who in vain shrieked and implored compassion, as fliers and pursuers drove headlong over them in the agony of fear or the extasy of triumph, completed the dreadful scene. All the guns which were in line along the French position, to the number of one hundred and fifty, fell into the hands of the British.

The last gun fired was an howitzer, left upon the road by the French. It was turned upon their retreat, and discharged by Captain Cambell, aid-de-camp to General Adam, who had thus the honour of concluding the battle of Waterloo, which, it has been said, Bonaparte himself commenced. The march and advance of the Prussians crossed the van of the British army, after they had attacked the French position, about the farm-house of La Belle Alliance, and there or near to that spot, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Marshal Blucher met to

Congratulations of the British and Prussians on their success.

congratulate each other upon their joint success and its important consequences. Here, too, the victorious allies of both countries exchanged military greeting,—the Prussians halting their regimental band, to play “God save the king,” while the British returned the compliment with three cheers to the honour of Prussia. The Prince Marshal immediately gave orders, that every man and horse in his army capable of action, should press upon the rear of the fugitives, without giving them a moment’s time to rally.

It was now half-past nine at night; and the moon arose with more than ordinary splendour. The van of the Prussian army accelerated its march, and the French were pursued without intermission, and became absolutely disorganized. The Prussians, who put no limit to their revenge on the French, and have shown the greatest barbarity to their enemies, listened to no cries of mercy: their light-horse, always formidable on such occasions, made a fearful and indiscriminate slaughter, scarcely interrupted even by the temptation of plundering the baggage with which the roads were choked, and unchecked by an attempt at resistance. The road, says the Prussian account, presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with innumerable cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some

The Prussians continue the pursuit.

villages, they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of the Prussian drums, or the sound of the Prussian trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners.—The whole march, indeed, was a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

The French fugitives had entrenched themselves at Genappe with cannon, and overturned carriages, in the hope of passing the night there: Napoleon had with difficulty escaped about half an hour after midnight through this place, having been detained there an hour and a half before he could make his way through the press, as the military wagons were wedged sixteen deep upon the causeway. On the approach of the Prussians, a brisk fire of musketry commenced; some cannon shot, accompanied by a loud *hurrah*, sufficed to frighten away all thought of resistance, and the Prussians immediately took possession of the town. The flight and pursuit were continued, with increased fear on the part of the enemy, and with unrelenting ardour on the part of the Prussians.

The death of General Duhesme, who was killed at Genappe, had something in it quite Homeric.—He was overtaken in the village by one of the Duke of Brunswick's black hussars, of whom he begged quarter. The soldier regarded him sternly, with his sabre uplifted, and then briefly saying, "The Duke of Brunswick died yesterday," bestowed on him his death's wound.



Rollman

Engraved for John Evans New York



Capture of Bonaparte's carriage.

At Genappe it was, that, among many other equipages, the carriage* of Napoleon was taken, together with his hat and sword, and papers, the insignia of all his orders. The spoils scattered along the road, it is said, tempted the Prussians, and abated their speed; otherwise scarcely a man of the discomfited army could have escaped their unrelenting fury and vengeance; the pursuit, how-

* At the entrance of Genappe, Major Von Keller met the travelling carriage of Bonaparte with six horses. The postillion and the two leaders were killed by the bayonets of the fusileers. The major then cut down the coachman, and forced open the doors of the carriage. At that moment he observed Bonaparte mounting a horse at the opposite side. In his precipitation, Napoleon let fall his hat, sword, and mantle, which were sent to Prince Blücher the next morning. The major then took possession of the carriage, and afterwards brought it to England himself.

The captured carriage contained a gold and silver *necessaire*, including above seventy pieces; a large silver chronometer; a steel bedstead with merino mattresses; a pair of pistols; a green velvet cap; a pair of spurs; linen, and many other things for the convenience of travelling. There were also a diamond head-dress, (tiara;) hat, sword, uniform, and an imperial mantle. The booty made, was equally considerable and remarkable; several boxes of mounted and unmounted diamonds, (other diamonds, to an immense amount, were chiefly found in powder-wagons), large silver services with the arms of Napoleon, and gold pieces, with his name and portrait, filled the haversacks of the soldiers of that battalion.

This carriage was built by Symonds, at Brussels, according to Bonaparte's order, for the campaign in Russia, and is replete with personal convenience.

Sketch of the loss occasioned by the wars of Bonaparte.

ever, continued throughout the night, and 60 pieces of cannon fell into their hands.*

At break of day, the remains of the French army arrived, partly at Charleroi, and partly at Marchienne, where they hastened to repass the Sambre.

* The following sketch of the loss of men occasioned by war, since the commencement of Bonaparte's reign in 1801, is furnished by a respectable authority. The afflictive picture which it exhibits, at full length, would not be an inappropriate subject for the study of Napoleon, in his retreat at St. Helena; nor would its moral probably be lost on other statesmen and princes, if it could obtain a permanent station in their council chambers.—First, the war of St. Domingo, from 1801 to 1806, carried off 60,000 French soldiers and sailors, at least 50,000 of the white inhabitants of the island, and 50,000 negroes.—Secondly, the maritime war with England, from 1802 to 1804, cost the two parties and their allies, at least 200,000 men.—Thirdly, the winter campaign of 1805 to 1806, which was short but very bloody, robbed the belligerent powers of 150,000 men.—Fourthly, the war in Calabria, from 1805 to 1807, destroyed 100,000 men.—Fifthly, war in the North, from 1806 to 1807, cost 300,000 men. The Spanish war, the most murderous of all, from 1807 to 1813, carried off 2,400,000 men. It will not be rating too high the annual loss which this last war occasioned, as well to the French and their allies, as to the English, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, whether in battles or sieges, or by contagious diseases, or assassinations, or other disasters, to estimate it at 200,000 men.—Seventhly, the campaign in Germany and Poland, in 1809, swept away 300,000 men.—Eighthly, the campaign of 1812, cost France and her allies 500,000 men, and Russia 300,000, in battles, in hospitals, and in towns and villages which were burned, besides 200,000 Poles, Germans, and French, who were victims of the contagious diseases resulting from famine and bad nourishment.—

The French re-cross the Sambre.

The remaining equipages, which, the nearer they approached the river, were the more impeded in their progress, were completely stopped near the bridges of Charleroi and Marchienne. The Prussian cavalry speedily overtook them; the affrighted drivers cut the traces of their horses, and fled with the rest: and all the artillery that yet remained, together with every kind of *material*, was abandoned to the victors, who also made a considerable number of prisoners. The fugitives, having once effected their passage across the Sambre, thought they might venture to halt, and had established bivouacs in the meadows and orchards on its right bank; when an alarm was given that the Prussians were approaching. Without waiting for any orders, without destroying the bridge, or even reconnoitring, they renewed their disorderly flight; the whole started at once; every one provided for himself, without knowing whither to direct his steps.

Near Charleroi, there are two roads, one leading to Avesnes, and the other to Philippeville: no direction having been given to them, and none of their superior officers being present, the fugitives

Ninthly, the campaign of 1813 destroyed 450,000 men. Total, 5,800,000 men in twelve years, which is nearly half a million annually.—If to this calculation were added the human victims who perished by wars, massacres, and assassinations, from the earliest stages of the French revolution, and those who fell from the year 1813, to the battle of Waterloo, probably the number would be little short of the whole population of England!!!

Memoir of Marshal Soult.

divided themselves into two parts, the most numerous of which took the road by which they had before advanced, while the other took a direction towards the left, and marched on Philippeville.—Numbers of stragglers, without any other design than that of avoiding the pursuit of the Prussians, threw themselves into the surrounding woods.—Thus the army became more and more dispersed, and at length was almost totally annihilated. Napoleon, accompanied by Soult,* and many other

* This general may be considered as being himself the only founder of his military fortune : as early as sixteen he enlisted as a common soldier. His good conduct occasioned his being distinguished by the chief officer of his company, who successively appointed him as corporal and sergeant. Endued with much intelligence, he soon became versed in the art of manœuvring : and even at that period he evinced towards his subordinates that firmness of character which has since so greatly contributed to his advancement. In 1792, his reputation as a good instructor, obtained for him the situation of Adjutant-Major in a battalion of national guards. In 1793, he was appointed an officer of the staff, and some little time after, Adjutant-General. He was employed in the army of the Moselle, under the command of Jourdan. At the time when forty thousand men of that army marched upon the Sambre, to relieve Charleroi, Soult was appointed chief of the staff for the division of General Lefevre, which formed the advanced guard of that army.

The 27th of June, 1794, the day of the battle of Fleurus, the right wing of the French army, commanded by Marceau, was attacked by Beaulieu at three o'clock in the morning. By noon all the troops of Marceau were thrown into confusion, and he himself, surrounded by the Austrian dragoons, owed his safety only to the

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attendants, took the latter road, and arrived safely at Paris, at three o'clock in the morning of the 20th of June.

The loss of the victors was great indeed. The British and Hanoverians on the 16th and 18th, amounted to not less than 13,000 men, and 750 officers, the flower of the army, of whom more than two-thirds fell at Waterloo; the total loss of the Prussians from the commencement of the campaign

bravery of some officers of his staff, who protected his retreat to Lefevre's division. "Give me," said Marceau to this general, "four battalions of your troops, that I may drive the enemy from my position;" and observing that Lefevre hesitated, Marceau, in order to determine him, added in a tone of despair, "If you refuse me, I will blow my brains out." Lefevre consulted Soult, who said aloud, that this disposition would expose the safety of the division. Marceau cast a threatening look at him, and asked him who he was, that he should take upon him to use so peremptory a tone? "I am calm," replied Soult, coldly, "and you are not so." This observation only tended to augment the indignation of Marceau, who provoked Soult to fight a duel with him the next day. "Whether to-day or to-morrow," replied Soult, "you will always find me ready to tell you the truth, and pay you the respect I owe you—do not kill yourself, but fight in your ranks, and when we shall have secured our position, you shall have the battalions you wish for." At that very moment the Prince of Cobourg attacked Lefevre with the choice of his troops; seven successive and unsuccessful onsets were made by the Hungarian grenadiers. Soult conveyed himself with rapidity wherever there was the greatest danger; Marceau fought also like a lion. Lefevre remained with the reserve. The battle raged with unexampled fury: the brave Royal Allemand regiment several times charged the

to their second triumphant entrance into Paris, has been officially stated at 38,000 ; but that of the French in the last great battle almost exceeds belief. They began the day between 155,000 and 160,000

columns of Soult and Marceau, who were pursuing the Austrians. About three hundred of these intrepid horsemen perished within pistol-shot of Lefevre's entrenchments. At six in the evening the whole army of the Moselle, with the exception of Lefevre's division, was in retreat : the general, alarmed to see his two flanks defenceless, was just going to give orders to retrograde, when Soult conjured him to wait, assuring him, that, as far as he could judge by the manœuvres of the second line, the enemy was commencing his retreat : this opinion of Soult was soon confirmed by an order sent to attack from Jourdan, who, stationed in the balloon, was enabled to perceive distinctly the movements of the Austrian army. Marceau and Soult marched together to take possession of Lambussart. This village was taken and retaken several times. After having been engaged for eighteen hours, Cobourg retreated in good order.

Marceau, who had witnessed the skill and coolness of Soult, said to Lefevre, " The chief of your staff is a man of merit : he will soon bring himself into notice."—" Yes," replied Lefevre, " he is passable ; I am satisfied with him. He conducts the business of my staff pretty well." Marceau held out his hand to Soult, and in a friendly tone said to him, " General, I have to beg you will forget the past : and although from my rank I am destined to give you instructions, yet I have received such a lesson from you to-day, as I shall not forget while I live. It is you alone who have gained the battle of Fleurus." With these words they embraced, and from that time they entertained the strongest friendship for each other until the death of Marceau, which event sensibly affected Soult.

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strong ; and from their own account the wreck of the army, when it was collected together, did not amount to 60,000 men. They had fought with a degree of desperation never before witnessed ; but

During the campaigns of 1794, 95, 96, and 97, Soult continued to direct Lefevre's division.

Soult was at last nominated General of Brigade ; but Lefevre, unwilling to part with him, caused him to be employed in his division, giving him the command of the advanced guard. Lefevre having been wounded, Jourdan intrusted this division to Soult, who commanded it in chief on the day of the battle of Liebtin-gen, the 26th of March, 1799. Made general of division, he was employed in Switzerland, under Massena, of whom he was considered as the right hand. He followed that general into Italy and co-operated with him at the siege of Genoa, where Soult was wounded, a ball having shattered his right leg. He was made prisoner with his brother, who was then aid-de-camp, and chief of a squadron, since that a general, commanding the cavalry of the fourth corps, in the kingdom of Granada.

As soon as he was recovered of his wounds, he was exchanged, and intrusted with the command of the army of observation in the kingdom of Naples, but was soon sent to Paris, and appointed Colonel-General of the Foot Chasseurs of the Consular Guard.—Bonaparte, charmed with the progress his guard made in order, conduct, and instruction, the result of Soult's exertions, conceived he could not make a better choice, than appointing that officer to the chief command of the camp of Boulogne.

More open-minded than the other courtiers, Soult declaimed very loudly against the immense works which were constructing on the coast near Boulogne, and on the heights bordering upon the banks of the Lianne ; he was suffered to talk on, and was forgiven this silliness, from his having, on the other hand, the good sense

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their route and discomfiture were equally complete and unexampled ; three hundred pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition and equipage, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

to show himself one of the most zealous advocates for the erection of Bonaparte's pillar, with this inscription, " The Land and Sea Army to Napoleon the Great ! "

Soult, during his stay at Boulogne, evinced uncommon activity ; almost continually on horseback, he severally visited the coast, the camps, and the cantonments : and it was there that he employed himself in instructing his troops in those manœuvres which were of so much service to him at the battle of Austerlitz. When the army of the Boulogne camp proceeded to Germany, Soult passed the Rhine at Spire, the 26th of September, 1805, and directed his march through Heilbron for Nordlingen. The 6th of October, he seized on the *tete-de-pont* of Donavert, crossed the Danube, and marched straight to Augsburg, of which he took possession without striking a blow ; he also seized on Memingea, and experienced scarcely any resistance. During the whole of this campaign he was intrusted with the most important posts. At the battle of Austerlitz he commanded the right wing ; Bonaparte sent him an order for an immediate attack, and to possess himself of the heights of Pratzen. Soult said to the aid-de-camp who brought this order, "*that he would commence the attack as soon as he could do it successfully ; but that it was not yet the proper time.*" This reply, being reported to Bonaparte, filled him with rage ; and he immediately sent another aid-de-camp, who arrived precisely at the moment that Soult had put his troops in motion, which he had only delayed to allow the Russians time to extend their army towards the left, by which they were weakening their centre. All who opposed his march were either killed or taken. Bonaparte, who was stationed on a height from which he could plainly discover the movement of the army, was charmed

From this record of destruction, we willingly turn our attention to such facts as tend most to exalt the human character. To the humanity of the British soldiers the French themselves have borne honourable testimony: our countrymen exerted themselves to form litters, and carry off the wounded French from the field. Some of the wounded, who still had the use of their limbs, employed themselves in binding up the wounds of their enemies, and administering to their wants. In Brussels and Antwerp, the wounded received the most prompt attentions: persons of the highest

with the precision and the brilliant result of his lieutenant's manœuvres; he went to him at full gallop, and in presence of all his staff, who had but a few moments before beheld him most vehemently exclaiming against Soult, he embraced him, saying, "My Lord Marshal Soult, I esteem you as the most able tactician of my empire."—"Sire, I believe it," replied Soult, "since your majesty has the goodness to tell me so."—A well-timed compliment, which caused as much pleasure to Bonaparte, as it astonished the officers who were present.

At the battle of Jena, Soult decided the victory by his movement against the centre of the Prussian army, after having taken possession of the wood which was on his right. Soult rendered great services in Prussia and in Poland. At the battle of Eylau, though inferior in number, he held Beningsen's army in check.—Augereau had been routed, and had left the right of Soult unprotected: Davoust had been retarded in his march by bad roads; Ney was fighting against the Prussians; and Bernadotte was too far distant to take a part in the engagement. Soult, however, arranged his troops with so much skill, that he made them appear much more numerous than they were. If, after having defeated

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rank waited upon them night and day: and it marks in the most gratifying manner, the good conduct of the British army while quartered in Brussels, previously to the battle, that the inhabitants sought with the greatest anxiety among the wounded for their former guests, whom they took to their houses and their care as old friends. Every carriage of every description in Brussels was voluntarily and instantaneously sent to the field of battle, to bring home the wounded. And one inhabitant of Brussels, a stout hale man, actually *walked* to the field of carnage, a distance of nearly twelve miles, and brought home a wounded Frenchman on his back:

Augereau's corps, the Russian army had rushed headlong (a favourite manœuvre of theirs) upon Soult's line, Bonaparte would have been completely beaten, and Davoust's corps, separated from the rest of the army, would have been either killed, taken, or dispersed. On the approach of night, Bonaparte, alarmed at the enormous loss which he had sustained, wished to retreat. "Let us remain where we are, sire," said Soult to him; "for though we have been dreadfully mauled, we shall pass for conquerors, if we remain the last on the field of battle; and I have observed some movements in the Russian army, which induce me to think that the enemy will effect his retreat during the night." Although Bonaparte was apprehensive of the contrary, he resolved to follow the advice of Soult, of whose extraordinary perspicacity he was well aware. The next day he was so rejoiced at the retreat of the Russians, that he was observed the whole day with a smiling countenance, although in the midst of twenty thousand dead, dying, and wounded, lying strewn on the field of battle, near the town of Eylau.

After the peace of Tilsit, Soult was appointed to take a com-

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three times he made this pilgrimage of humanity. The benevolent attention of the citizens of Brussels, were further aided by ample supplies of linen, flannel, &c. for the use of the wounded; which were

mand in the army of Spain. On the 10th of November, 1808, he took the command of the 2nd corps, attacked the army of Estramadura, and destroying it, took possession of Burgos; he then marched upon Renoysa, occupied St. Ander, and penetrated into the kingdom of the Asturias, whilst the other corps of the French army manœuvred on the two rivers of the Ebro, and defeated Castanos at Tudela.

The invasion of the north of Portugal does little honour to Soult, who was near being taken prisoner at Oporto, where the English entered, whilst he was at table with his whole staff. They were obliged precipitately to mount their horses, and, with sabre in hand, cut their way through the English sharp-shooters, who were already firing in the streets.

The marshal is now between fifty and sixty years of age, five feet 10 inches in height; he is described to be strong and active; his face is but ordinary, his complexion pallid, his eye penetrating, and his air expressive of a genius above the common cast; his features betray the harshness of his soul, and the pride with which he is inspired by his military talents: his figure is martial, his manner simple, his address cold; he is very rigid in maintaining discipline; his activity and comprehensive view enforce admiration; at the same time he is a libertine and avaricious. In fact, glory is but his third passion, coming in after money and women; so that, when he first heard of his appointment some years ago to the command of the troops presumptuously called the Army of England, he said, in the presence of an Englishman then in France, "Now I am going to recruit my seraglio, and to fill my coffers, by putting into requisition English misses and English guineas."

He was one of those who sent in his adhesion to the new

The captured spoils of the French brought into Brussels.

poured in from England and Holland, as soon as it was known that the battle had taken place.

The French cannon were brought triumphantly into Brussels, ornamented with ribbons and flowers. Some bore the cyphers of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; others were inscribed with the words, Liberty and Equality; but the greater number had the mark of Napoleon.

The joy of the different nations of Europe, on this occasion, may well be conceived. To the Belgians, generally, notwithstanding their aversion to that political arrangement which had united them to the Dutch, (a bigoted Roman Catholic to a Protestant people, whom the former accounted pestilent heretics,) nothing could be so desirable in its immediate effects as such a victory, which saved them from the license of Bonaparte's army, and his contributions, and relieved them, at the same time, from the presence of the allied armies. They were flattered also by the part which they had borne in the success, and the manner in which the Prince of Orange had signalized himself.

At Brussels, in particular, sentiments of more

order of things after the first assumption of authority by Louis, and one of the first to desert the path of honour, on the re-appearance of Napoleon in France. Since the re-establishment of the lawful monarch, he has quitted the French territory, and for some months resided in Bristol, from whence he embarked for Boston in America, the 18th of June, 1816.

Universal joy on the defeat of Bonaparte.

than common gratitude prevailed: as Napoleon (it is said) to stimulate the courage and cupidity of his guards, had promised them three days' plunder of the city. When tidings of his defeat were fully confirmed, the joy of the inhabitants knew no bounds.*

Throughout the north of Germany, wherever the iron yoke of Bonaparte had been felt, the people exulted as much now when their deliverance was secured, as they had done in the preceding war, when it was first obtained. At Hamburgh, it is said, such universal joy had never been displayed, as when the news of the victory arrived: a public thanksgiving was appointed, a collection in the churches was made for the sufferers, and on the day which had been thus set apart for the duties of religion and charity, the tomb of Klopstock was restored, which Davoust had thrown down, as if in hatred toward the senseless dust of him who had endeavoured to make the Germans feel as a nation, and to keep alive in them the love of freedom and of their country.

The feeling which the tidings of this victory produced in England was such, as can never be for-

* It is a well-known fact, that an opulent inhabitant of Brussels had prepared a grand supper for Bonaparte on the 18th; and that similar preparations were made by some other persons for his officers. Among the papers found in his baggage captured at Genappe, there was a list of twenty individuals whose persons and property were to be excepted from the general pillage, and whose names were communicated to the French soldiers.

All previous actions trifles, compared with that of Waterloo.

gotten by the present generation. Accustomed, as we were, to victory upon the land, as well as upon the seas, since the star of Wellington had risen; confident, as we were, in our general, and in our army, even they who were most assured of success, and of speedy success, dreamt not of success so signal, so sudden, so decisive. The glory of all former fields seemed at the time to fade before that of Waterloo. At Cressy, at Poitiers, at Agincourt, the ease with which victory had been obtained appeared to detract from the merit of the conquerors; there the multitude of the enemies had been delivered into our hands by their own insolence and presumption. Blenheim had been less stubborn in the conflict, less momentous in the consequences; and all the previous actions of our great commander from Vimiero, or from Eastern Assaye to Toulouse, now seemed mere preludes to this last and greatest of his triumphs.

Victor of Assaye's eastern plain,
 Victor of all the fields of Spain,
 Victor of France's despot reign,
 Thy task of glory done;
 Welcome! from dangers greatly dar'd,
 From triumphs with the vanquish'd shar'd,
 From nations sav'd, and nations spar'd,
 Unconquer'd Wellington!

Unconquer'd! yet thy honours claim
 A nobler than a conqueror's name;
 At the red wreaths of guilty fame
 Thy gen'rous soul had blush'd.

Reflections upon the victory.

The blood—the tears the world has shed—
The throngs of mourners—piles of dead—
The grief—the guilt—are on his head ;—
The tyrant thou hast crush'd.

Thine was the sword which Justice draws ;
Thine was the pure and gen'rous cause
Of holy rites and human laws,
The impious thrall to burst ;
And THOU was destin'd for thy part !
The noblest mind, the firmest heart,
Artless—but in the Warrior's art—
And in that art the first.

And we, who in the orient skies
Beheld thy sun of glory rise ;
Still follow, with exulting eyes,
His proud meridian height :
Late, on thy grateful country's breast,
Late may that sun descend to rest,
Beaming through all the glowing West,
The mem'ry of his light !

In the history of the world, such a rapidity of conquest never before occurred. In less than three weeks after the first shot was fired in the present war, was the capital of an empire (which only three years ago had made all Europe tremble,) in the hands of less than a moiety of the alliance formed to resist the threatened misery, which the return of the disturber of Europe's peace made more than probable. One battle decided the fate of France !—The boasted unanimity of the “ Nation of heroes” was a mere rope of sand. The greatest possible force was collected by the returned Usurper, who, surrounded by the heart's core of French valour, him-

Reflections upon the victory.

self fighting for a vast empire, and his myrmidons for the occupation of blood which they delighted to follow, and buoyed up with the inflated recollection of past victories, when fighting against troops less confident of their leaders—but all in vain! The God of Battles gave the victory to the side of Justice—and by the single, but signal overthrow, on the 18th of June, decided, not only the campaign, but the war! After having been permitted by Providence (no doubt for wise, though to us inscrutable purposes,) to act as the scourge of the world—to stand in lieu of the “Destroying Angel of the Lord,”—to scatter treason, misery, and death, upon the earth, the mercy of the Almighty stayed the power of the fiend who so long had thrown his eye over the map of the globe, seeking whom he might devour. Against the boundless ambition, which had been indulged and gratified to a height so tremendously uplifted above all previous calculation of the most aspiring, was issued the Divine fiat—“*Thou shalt go no further.*” The check to his progress caused instant aberration. From the dazzling altitude at which he stood, he was precipitated. The island of Elba was the terrestrial pandæmonium into which the mortal Satan was received; and where (permitted for a time to reside) he planned new evils for mankind. He again appeared in the world, and found kindred spirits ready to join him in the wicked measure of national immolation. His friends (for even the wicked boast of friends) were in arms. The peaceful citizens of France had not

Reflections upon the victory.

a voice which could make itself heard amidst the clash and clangour of furbishing the weapons of destruction, and the interested cries of “*Vive l’Empereur.*” The pantomimical exhibition of a pretended national election was resorted to, and the fiction of partial opposition was provided, to give a colour to the appointment. He then set out to oppose the army of Justice. He did all that a most consummate knowledge of military science, aided by the well-known ferocity in attack, which the French army has so often evinced, and with a great superiority of force, but all without avail! He found the tactics of his antagonist superior to his own—and the ranks of the British troops as invulnerable as walls of adamant. On the 18th of June, 1815, the *Sun of Napoleon set for ever*; and the wondering world, at the very commencement of a war which some discontented politicians had prognosticated would last for years, saw its termination; for

—————“ the time was come,
“ That France must veil her lofty plumed crest,
“ And let her head fall into England’s lap.”

In five days from that on which the disturber left Paris to direct the ministers of his ambition in the work of slaughter, he returned a fugitive! The “Little Nation with the mighty soul,” has fought a battle for mankind, and won it, “all the world to nothing.” At the moment when humanity trembled with the apprehension of protracted sufferings—when the spirits who, ever ready to believe what

Reflections upon the victory.

they wished might happen, were prognosticating ruin on the enemies of the idol which they had set up in their hearts,—and when even many well-wishers to the cause of truth and justice were calculating upon years of protracted, ruthless, remorseless warfare—at one blow—by one mighty stroke—Wellington smote the hydra army to the earth, and *conquered peace!* Do we presume too much—say, ye ministers of his word, if we add—“*GOD WAS WITH US?*” No.—Then let us add—Not unto man, not unto man, O God! but unto THEE we owe this great victory! Be then thine all the glory! and may our gratitude to Thee be shown in the kindness we bestow on the creatures of thy hand, whom thou employedst in the great work, so essential to the peace of the universe.

Heavy as was the weight of private sorrow which this battle brought with it; severe as was the public loss in the fall of Picton and Ponsonby, and of so many others, the flower of the British youth, the pride and promise of the British army, still we were spared that grief, which on a former occasion had abated the joy of the very multitude, and made thoughtful spirits almost regret the battle of Trafalgar. The Duke's aides-de-camp—men endeared to him by their long services in the career of victory, and by their personal devotion to him—fell, killed or wounded, one after another. Of those who accompanied him during this “agony of his fame,” his old friend, the Spanish General Alava, was the only one who was untouched either in his person

Subscriptions raised for the wounded, &c.

or his horse. At one moment, when the Duke was very far advanced, observing the enemy's movements, one of his aides-de-camp ventured to hint that he was exposing himself too much ; the Duke answered with his noble simplicity, " I know I am, but I must die or see what they are doing."

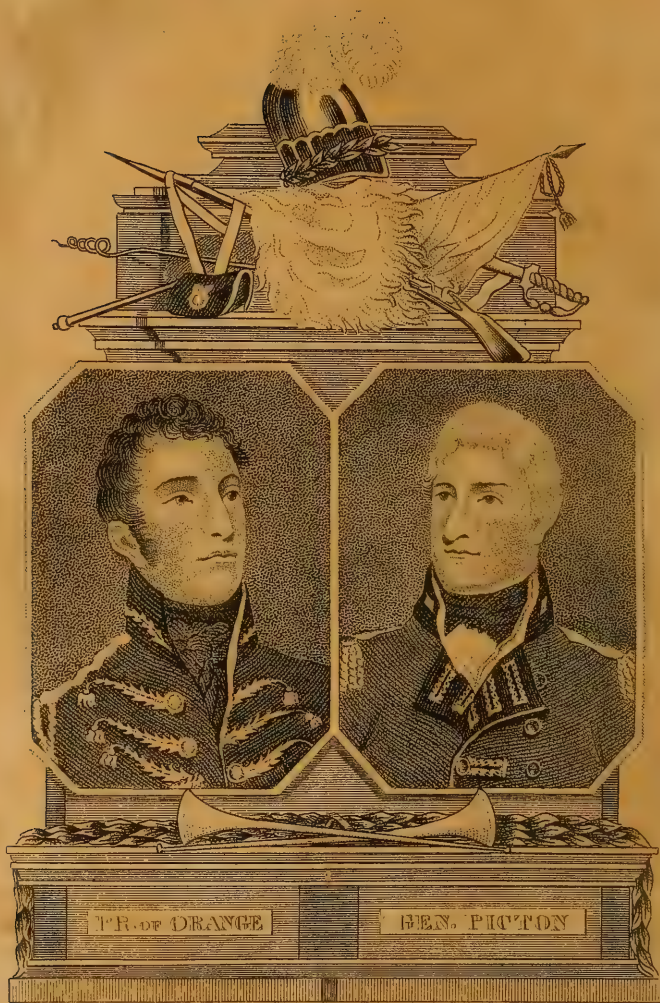
The first consideration, when joy and astonishment admitted leisure for consideration, was how to express our sense of this great exploit, how to manifest our gratitude to the army and its leader, how to discharge our obligation—the mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead. For the relief of the wounded, and of the relatives of the slain, a subscription was immediately commenced, in which the munificent charity of Great Britain and its dependencies, far exceeded all its former exertions : a committee of distribution was appointed, and in no very long time, upwards of four hundred thousand pounds sterling was cheerfully raised, for the purpose of administering to the necessities of the wounded, and to the comfort of the orphans and widows of the dead. For the Duke of Wellington (on whom the King of the Netherlands had conferred the title of Prince of Waterloo) there remained indeed no new honours which a grateful country could bestow :—from his knighthood to his dukedom he had won them all ; but the parliament added £200,000 to its former magnificent grant, in order that a palace, not less magnificent than that of Blenheim, might be erected for the Ge-

Merits of the British army duly appreciated and amply rewarded.

neral who had equalled, if he had not surpassed, the achievements of Marlborough.

Special votes of thanks were further passed by both Houses of Parliament to his Grace, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour displayed by him at the battle of Waterloo. The indefatigable exertions of his principal officers, and the distinguished valour and discipline, displayed by the British non-commissioned officers and privates were likewise acknowledged in special votes of thanks: nor were the valour and intrepidity of the allied forces under the Duke's command forgotten on this great occasion. Votes of thanks were likewise passed to them, as well as to Prince Blucher and to the Prussian army, for their timely and active co-operation, to which the result of that arduous day is so mainly to be attributed; and to the Prussians further was awarded an ample proportion of the sums raised by subscription in Great Britain and her connexions.

But the high estimate, entertained by the British legislature of the services of their gallant countrymen, was not confined to unsubstantial applause, however gratifying to the honourable feeling of a soldier. The merits of the army properly were appreciated; and solid rewards, as they ought to be, were extended to every rank and every individual. Every regiment which had been present, was permitted from thenceforth to bear the word "WATERLOO," upon their colours; all the privates were to be borne upon the muster-rolls and pay-lists



Engraved for John Evans New York.

National monument decreed in commemoration of the victory.

of their respective corps as *Waterloo-men*, and every Waterloo-man allowed to reckon that day's work as two years' service in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years' service for that victory; and a benefit not less important was on this occasion extended to the whole army, by a regulation enacting, that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds, should rise with the rank to which the officer attained, so that he who was maimed when an ensign, should, when he became a general, receive a general's pension for the injury which he had endured. These were solid, substantial benefits, such as the army had well deserved, and as it became the government to confer.

More was yet due, and the legislature were not slow in expressing the universal feeling of the nation. They decreed that a national monument should be erected in honour of the victory, and in commemoration of the men who fell; and upon the suggestion of Mr. Williams Wynne, it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen should be inscribed upon this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. It was also decreed, that funeral monuments should be erected in memory of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton,*

* Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, K. B. entered the army in the year 1771, as an ensign in the 12th regiment of foot, and served at Gibraltar under Generals Sir Robert Boyd and Lord

Memoir of General Sir T. Picton.

and Major General the Hon. Sir William Ponsonby, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and it was further suggested, that a medal should be given to

Heathfield, from the year 1773 to 1778. He got his company in the 75th regiment, and remained a captain for the long period of sixteen years, from 1778 to 1794. In 1783 he commanded the 75th regiment, then quartered in Bristol, and, by an intrepidity of conduct, and a daring resolution of mind, which, on every perilous emergency, mark the character and features of superior men, quelled a mutiny which broke out in that regiment, and which from the complexion that it assumed, promised the most disastrous consequences. For this example of a true military spirit, he received the royal approbation through the then commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Conway.

From the year 1783, when his regiment was reduced, he remained on half-pay until the year 1794, and resided chiefly in Pembrokeshire, where his ancestors, an ancient and most respectable family, had long lived in the esteem and affection of a numerous circle of relations and friends.

In 1794, tired of inaction, and zealous for service, while yet a half-pay captain, he embarked for the West-Indies, trusting to his fortune and his conduct for that promotion, to which a period of sixteen years, with the rank only of captain, certainly entitled him. Here he was soon distinguished by a great natural superiority of mind and information, and Sir John Vaughan, who then commanded in chief in the West Indies, gave him a majority in the 68th regiment. He also made him his aid-de-camp, and having now a closer opportunity of discerning his activity of mind, and talents for public business, he appointed him deputy quarter-master-general, (by which situation he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel) and in which department he acquitted himself with the greatest credit and honour. On the appointment of General Knox to the head of the quarter-master-general department, he intended to return to Europe, but was requested

Memoir of General Sir T. Picton.

each of the survivors, of the same materials for officers and men, that they who had been companions in danger, might all wear the same badge of honour.

by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who arrived in the West Indies in the year 1796, to remain, hoping, as that distinguished officer very graciously expressed, "to give him an opportunity of returning in a way more agreeable to him," if he would remain during the campaign. This invitation was too flattering not to be accepted, and he embarked with him on the expedition against St. Lucia, where the general signified in public orders, "that all orders coming through Lieutenant Colonel Picton, should be considered as the orders of the commander-in-chief." On the capture of that island, the general, without any solicitation whatever, recommended him for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 68th regiment. From St. Lucia, Colonel Picton sailed with Sir Ralph on the expedition to St. Vincents, which was taken by storm; and upon the conclusion of this short but brilliant campaign, he went with Sir Ralph to Martinique, and from thence to England.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie again sailed for the West Indies, attended by Colonel Picton, and arrived in Martinique in January 1797. The expedition against Trinidad being at this time determined on, the armament sailed for that island in the following month, and the conquest of the colony being completed, Colonel Picton was, without any recommendation, or even the least previous notification, appointed governor; and when he waited on Sir Ralph to return his acknowledgements, the answer of that great man is worthy of being recorded: it was, "Colonel Picton, if I knew any officer, who; in my opinion, could discharge the duties annexed to this situation better than you, to him would I have given it: there are no thanks due to me for it."

From the period of capitulation to the year 1802, when the government of the island of Trinidad was unhappily put in commission, Colonel Picton discharged the duties of governor and captain-general of it, and received the thanks of the different

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

CHAPTER VI.

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch—Biographical sketches of fallen heroes—Anecdotes—Further particulars from the Military Chronicle—Extracts from private letters, &c. relating different particulars of the battle—Prussian account—Battle of Ligny—St. Amand—Battle of the 18th—Marshal Blücher's Letters, &c. &c.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Downing-street, June 22, 1816.

MAJOR the Honourable H. Percy, arrived late last night with a dispatch from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy :

commanders-in-chief on the station, and the approbation of his majesty's ministers.

The subsequent transactions in consequence of the appointment of the ill-fated commission, are sufficiently known to the public ; and, says the editor of the Panorama, the characters of his accusers have also been recorded ; and we cannot more appropriately convey the language of our feelings, than by adopting the words of the Anti-Jacobin review of last April, illustrative of the conduct of this gallant officer.—“ In the important operations of the siege of Badajos, and its subsequent capture by storm, the whole of the officers and men employed, conducted themselves with such consummate skill and bravery, that it would be highly presumptuous in a public writer, to raise any distinction between them. But the readers of this Review will readily pardon us for indulging a feeling of self-gratulation, in contemplating the conduct of an officer, whom we, from a pure regard for justice

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

Waterloo, June 19, 1815.

My Lord—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month,

and for truth, contributed to rescue from the impetuous current of public prejudice which was let loose against him; and from the destructive efforts of popular clamour, to which he had been most unjustly consigned. We opposed to the polluted but furious torrent, a firm rampart of truth; we met the senseless, but outrageous clamour, with the commanding voice of justice. The law, at length, in tardy reparation of his injuries, proclaimed the innocence, and vindicated the honour, which, from the beginning of the contest, we had plainly described, and boldly defended. We had described, even in the representations of his enemies, and in the conduct which formed the ground of their charges against him, indisputable proofs of that manly, honourable, and resolute spirit, which has since been unequivocally displayed, in the field of glory, to his own honour, and to the advantage of his country."

In 1809, we find Major Gen. Picton commanding a brigade of an army sent to rescue Holland from the French, and was at the siege of Flushing, of which town, after its surrender, he was appointed Governor: he there rendered himself conspicuous for his humanity to the natives, and to the sick and wounded soldiers.—During his stay at Walcheren, he caught the fever, and came home enfeebled and emaciated; fortunately for his country, his health was restored. Instantly, and even before he could be said to have re-assumed his tone of health, his active services were required in Portugal, where he commanded the 3d division of the British army; in which command his zeal, celerity, and courage, soon distinguished itself, and from the situation in which the for-

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch

advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at daylight in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to the

tune of war had placed them, became noticed as the fighting division.

In all the battles in the peninsular war, the division which he commanded was placed in the post of honour, and never failed to justify the confidence reposed in its gallant commander. His services were continued during the whole of the peninsular war, excepting that he was obliged from ill-health to resign for a time previous to the battle of Salamanca, when the command of his division was intrusted to the late gallant Sir Edward Pakenham, who bravely led it to victory. Before the battle of Vittoria, our hero was sufficiently recovered to resume the command, and in this battle his division acted in a manner which at once excited acclamation and surprise; for nearly four hours did it alone sustain the unequal force opposed to it, of which the whole army, from the peculiar nature of the ground, were acting witnesses.—General Picton continued with the army until its entrance into France. In a word, he was the very soul of honour. The pupil of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, he never disgraced his general and his friend. In private life Sir Thomas Picton was kind, humane, benevolent, and charitable. He discharged with strictness all the social and relative duties; and, in the midst of the severe persecution, never lost that equanimity of temper which pious integrity alone can impart. The Duke of Wellington, in his dispatch, passes a just eulogium on his worth. As soon as our army was sent to Flanders, government, it is stated, offered him the command of a division; but, apprehending the Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, would leave the British force to some officer in

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters, to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Zeithen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi,

whom he could not repose the same confidence, he declined the offer, adding, however, if the Duke should personally require his services, he would instantly repair to the army. This requisition was made—and the general left town on June 11th, and on the 18th terminated his honourable career in the field of glory! He had made his will before his departure—he did not expect to return; but observed to a friend, that when he heard of his death, he would hear of a bloody day. Alas! his prediction was too literally verified!—The following pleasing trait in his character may be relied on: Some time after relinquishing the government of Trinidad, the inhabitants voted him £5000 as a testimony of their esteem. When a dreadful fire laid the capital in ashes some time after this, a subscription was opened for the relief of the sufferers, and the general eagerly seized the opportunity of appropriating the £5000 to that object!*

His remains were landed at Deal, June the 25th. Minute-guns were fired from all the ships in the Downs, while the body was conveyed to the beach, where all the naval and military were drawn up to receive it. The body reached Canterbury the same evening, and was deposited in the custody of a guard of honour, in the same room at the Fountain inn, where, on that same day fortnight, the general had dined, on his way to embark. At six on the 26th, the body proceeded, accompanied to the extremity of the city, by the 52nd regiment, with reversed arms, the band playing the Dead March in Saul. On the 3d of July, the remains

* The Duke of Queensbury, with a nobleness of spirit, offered £5000 to Sir T. Picton, on the close of his prosecution by Colonel F——, but he politely refused it, with the highest sense of gratitude to the donor.

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasnes, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher; and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the meantime I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived about half-past two in the day, followed

of this distinguished officer were deposited in the family vault, in the burial ground of St. George's, Hanover-square, on the Uxbridge road, attended by his brother, Rev. Edward Picton, and many officers and gentlemen of distinction. A great concourse of people assembled, to witness the impressive scene. On the coffin was inscribed: "Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, aged 57, G. C. B. who fell at the great and decisive battle of Waterloo, in Flanders, on the 18th of June, 1815, between the French Army, commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the English Army, commanded by his Grace the Duke of Wellington."

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2nd corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves; as well as Lieutenant General Charles Baron Alten, Major General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant General Cooke, and Major Generals Maitland and Byng, as they

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42nd, 78th, and 92nd regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF FALLEN HEROES.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR W. PONSONBY.

The remains of this gallant General were deposited in the family vault in Kensington, belonging to his noble ancestors in the female line, on the 10th of July. England had not a more accomplished officer, nor society a more amiable man, than was Sir W. Ponsonby. He was naturally diffident, well-bred, and unassuming, with a singleness of mind and simplicity of character, both of which were so strongly expressed in his countenance, as to induce a prepossession, which his genuine worth secured. He owed his appointment solely to his merit, and was selected for that alone by the illustrious Duke, as both himself and family held opposite politics to his Grace. His conduct justified the choice, for probably a more timely, a more brilliant, and a more successful charge was never made, than by General Ponsonby, on the morning of the 18th, who, with his brigade, succeeded in making 2000 prisoners, and in taking two eagles. He fell, covered with

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrated his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sombref, in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following with a large body of cavalry

wounds and with glory, in his 43d year. Most of the brigade of this commander, shared his fate.

COLONEL FERRIER,

Of the Life Guards, fell on the 18th of June. He led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times: and most of the charges were not made till after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre, and his body was pierced with a lance.

COLONEL CAMERON,

Who nobly fell at the head of his regiment, we have to produce the following honourable testimony of the high consideration of his country:

“ *Whitehall, June 6th.*—The Prince Regent being desirous of conferring upon John Cameron, Esq. Colonel in the Army, Lieut. Colonel of the 92nd Highland Regiment of Foot, and Knight of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, such a mark of his majesty's royal favour, as may in a special

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

(brought from his right,) the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the first Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship had declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the

manner evince the sense he entertains of the highly distinguished services of that officer upon divers important occasions, and more especially during the recent glorious and ever-memorable campaigns in Portugal, Spain, and France; and particularly the signal intrepidity displayed by him in the action of Arroya de Mouline: in the defence of the pass of Maya; in the brilliant action near Bayonne; in crossing the river Gave de Mouline, at Arriverete; and in compelling a very superior force of the enemy to abandon the town of Aire; hath been pleased to grant unto the said Col. Cameron, his majesty's royal license and authority, that he and his descendants may bear the following crest of honourable augmentation, viz.—“ On a wreath, a Highlander of the 92nd regiment, armed and accoutred, up to the middle in water, grasping in his dexter hand a broad sword, and his sinister a banner, inscribed 92nd, within a wreath of laurel;” and in escrol above, “ Arriverete,” in allusion to the signal bravery displayed by him in forcing a passage through the river Gave de Mouline. in face of a very superior body of the enemy.

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house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte.—By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army (with the exception of the 3d corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher,) on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hou-

COLONEL SIR H. W. ELLIS,

Of the 23d regiment, fell in the moment of victory, pierced with honourable wounds, while bravely charging the enemy, with his gallant and invincible regiment. He was son of the late Major General Ellis, of Kempsey, near Worcester, and nephew of William Joyner, Esq. of Berkeley, county of Gloucester.—Bred up in the army from his earliest youth, this gallant soldier distinguished himself in almost every quarter, where the exertions of the British were called forth, having received no less than nine wounds in different actions, in Holland, Egypt, and the Peninsula. Upon several occasions, he received tokens of his sovereign's approbation, and rose to considerable rank, at an early period of life, being not more than 35 at the time of his death.

LIEUT. COL. SIR FRANCIS D'OYLY, K. C. B.,

Of the first regiment of Foot Guards, in his 39th year. He was the third son of the Rev. Matthias D'Oyly, Rector of Buxted, in Sussex, and Archdeacon of Lewes. He entered into his Majesty's

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

goumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day, with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

service in the 1st regiment of Guards in the year 1794; and since that period has been engaged in most of the principal military enterprises which have taken place in the late wars. In the expedition to the Helder, in 1799, he acted as aid-de-camp to his late uncle, General D'Oyly. In 1804, he accompanied his regiment to Sicily, and remained there about two years. From the first breaking out of the peninsular war to the close of it, he was, with very little exception, engaged on various military duties in Spain: he was present in the whole of Sir John Moore's campaign and retreat to Corunna; he afterwards spent a considerable time at Cadiz, while that city was besieged by the French; and, lastly under the Duke of Wellington, he held the situation of Assistant Adjutant General to one of the divisions of the army, chiefly to that commanded by the Earl of Dalhousie. Holding this situation, he was engaged in all the great engagements which crowned the Duke of Wellington's campaigns with such distinguished success; in the several battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Orthes, &c.; and accompanied Lord Dalhousie's division of the army to Bourdeaux. Having received several medals for the share he bore in these principal engagements, he was created one of the Knights Commanders of the order of the Bath, on the late extension of the honours of that order. During the whole of the late battles on the 16th and 18th of June, he

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy

was closely engaged with the enemy, and for a long time escaped unhurt. At last, towards the close of the action of the 18th, in the very last charge to which his regiment was led against the broken and yielding enemy, he received a wound, which deprived England of one of her most distinguished officers.

LIEUT. COL. THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER GORDON,

Fell by the side of the Duke of Wellington, with whom he was respectfully remonstrating on remaining within the range of a destructive fire. He was aid-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington.

LIEUT. COL. MILLER,

Of the Guards, died at Brussels, June 19th, of wounds received the preceding day. In his last mortal scene, this officer displayed the soul and spirit of a hero. On being wounded, he sent for Colonel Thomas, and said, "I feel I am mortally wounded; but I am pleased to think it is my fate rather than yours, whose life is involved in that of your young wife." After a pause, he said faintly, "I should like to see the colours of the regiment, before I quit them for ever." They were brought, and waved round his wounded body. His countenance brightened, he smiled, declared himself well satisfied, and was carried from the field.

LIEUT. COL. THOMAS,

Third Battalion of the 1st Guards. This worthy young soldier, who obtained his rank by merit, was at an early age placed as

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate

Ensign in the East Middlesex Militia, from which he volunteered to accompany the expedition to Holland, 1799; and received promotion for his gallant conduct there, from the Duke of Gloucester, who also honoured him with his esteem and friendship.—At the battle of Salamanca, he was particularly mentioned in the dispatches from Lord Wellington, for the gallantry of his conduct; and at the termination of the war was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel. He possessed a most excellent natural capacity, leaving nothing unaccomplished which he had once applied to; without seeming to aspire to gain esteem, he was beloved by old and young; his religion was real and unaffected; and his honour and duty to his country, never on his tongue, but evered ardent to his heart in practice.

LIEUT. COL. STABLES,

Of Great Ormead, Herefordshire, died at Brussels, June 20th, of a wound received at Waterloo. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards.

MAJOR ROBERT CAIRNES.

In the list of those who fell gloriously in the hour of victory, stands conspicuous the name of this distinguished officer. Nature

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effort with the cavalry and infantry, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from the attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frichermont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, sup-

had marked him as her favourite; endued with a strength and activity of mind that are rarely surpassed, he carried them into his profession, with the happiest result to himself and the service. An undaunted bravery, an exquisite sense of honour, a cool and discriminating though quick judgment, and a steady perseverance were his peculiar characteristics as a soldier; a noble and generous temper, an undeviating sweetness of disposition, a most engaging person, and manners highly polished and universally amiable, were his qualifications as a member of society; a heart the most affectionate, and an urbanity the most conciliating, completed his character in the different relations of son, brother, and friend. Adored by his family, beloved by his brother officers, and respected by the world, this gallant man met the death his noble spirit ever panted for, in the 30th year of his age, and left behind him unutterable regrets for his fate—to his friends indeed untimely, but to himself matured. The truth of this sketch will be attested by those who knew and loved its subject, while he who traces it is conscious of his inability to do it justice. By the female line, Major Robert Cairnes (of the Royal Horse Artillery) was the eldest branch of the family of that name, to whom a

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ported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it, only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night.

baronetcy was granted by patent in the reign of Queen Anne, but which has been dormant since the death of Sir Alexander Cairnes, who was killed at the battle of Minden.

MAJOR W. J. LLOYD, ROYAL ARTILLERY,

Died at Brussels, of the wound he received in his thigh, in the battle of Waterloo, which afterwards turned to a gangrene. It was this noble officer's fortune to be placed in a low, bad situation, and ground where he could obtain little or no assistance, and exposed most severely to the enemy, but no one could behave better, or obtain more honour, than he did in his accidentally perilous situation.

MAJOR A. JOHN MACLAINE, 73RD FOOT.

This officer died at Brussels, of the wounds he received in the battle of Waterloo. He was the third son of Mrs. Maclaine, of Scalasdale, Isle of Mull, a lady who deserves to be celebrated for the heroism and the bravery of the sons to whom she has given birth. She has already lost two sons in the service of her country, and two yet survive, ornaments to their profession, covered with scars received in various memorable engagements. The late Captain Maclaine who so gloriously fell whilst gallantly leading on

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He has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieut. General Sir Thomas Picton, his Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has fre-

his light company, at the battle of Maida, as mentioned in Sir John Stuart's dispatches, was one of the former, and Lieut. Col. Maclaïne, of the 7th West India regiment, who made so gallant a defence at Fort Matagorda, is one of the latter. Major Maclaïne of the 73d, had signalized himself in all the actions in which this fine Highland regiment was engaged in India, and particularly at the taking of Seringapatam. He had left the first battalion of it at New South Wales, to come to Europe, anxious and ardent to join the second, and to "share their glories and honour," as he expressed himself, "on the continent." His loss, in common with other brave men, his country will deplore.

MAJOR ROBERT C. PACKE,

Royal Horse Guards (second son of C. J. Packe, Esq. of Prestwould,) fell at the head of his squadron, in a brilliant charge on the French Imperial Guards.

MAJOR HODGE, 7TH HUSSARS,

Whilst charging the French hussars early in the morning of the 17th of June. That regiment formed part of the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge, and was actively engaged, together with the

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

quently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position, was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through the arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his Majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct,

Life Guards, in covering the retreat of the British army from the attacks of the enemy's lancers and cuirassiers.

MAJOR THE HON. FREDERICK HOWARD, 10TH HUSSARS.

Second son of the Earl of Carlisle. His remains have been brought over to England. The whole afflicted family of the Earl of Carlisle were so anxious to recover, if possible, the remains of this their gallant relative, that the Duke of York wrote to the Duke of Wellington, requesting that every endeavour might be made to effect it. On inquiry it was found that two sergeants of the 10th Hussars had interred him on the field. They were in consequence dispatched from Paris for this purpose; and, on traversing this wide field of slaughter, were fortunate enough to discover the place of sepulture, from which they immediately dug up the remains of their beloved officer, enclosed them in a leaden shell, with which they were provided, and took them to Brussels, from whence they were conveyed to England.

CAPTAIN THE HON. WILLIAM CURZON,

Who fell in the battle of Waterloo, was the fourth son of Lord Scarsdale. He was educated at the junior department of the Military College, and entering, 1807, the 9th Foot, at the age of

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

till he received a wound from a musket-ball, through the shoulder which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of Guards, under Lieutenant General Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major General Maitland, and Major General Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his Royal Highness's approbation, Lieutenant General

16—he was with this corps in all the great peninsular operations, and towards their close was promoted to a company in the 69th regiment, and he was appointed aid-de-camp to Lord Aylmer.—His conduct acquired him the regard of all, and he was honoured by the friendship of the Duke of Wellington and the Prince of Orange, to whose staff he was this year appointed. On the great day, when in the execution of his duty, riding with his friend Lord March, he received a ball in his chest, and instantly fell on his face, exclaiming, “Good bye, dear March.” His gallant companion rendered him every assistance, but in vain. Lord March then, from a movement of the French cuirassiers, was calling to the Nassau troops to form a square, and to resist the threatened attack: Captain Curzon, even then, forgetful of himself and his situation, hearing his friend animating the Nassau levies, with a self devotion worthy of the proudest days of Greece and Rome, faintly joined as he was expiring—“That’s right, well done, my dear March.”

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BUCKLEY, ROYAL SCOTS,

Fell the 16th of June, whilst leading on his company. He had been in this regiment thirteen years, seven of which he served in

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

Sir H. Clinton, Major General Adam, Lieutenant General Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded ; Major General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded ; Colonel Ompteda, commanding a brigade of the 4th division ; Major Generals Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack ; Major General Lambert, Major General Lord E. Somerset, Major General Sir W. Ponsonby, Major General Sir C. Grant, and Major General Sir H. Vivian ; Major General Sir O. Vandeleur ; Major General Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

the West Indies, as Adjutant to the 1st battalion, and was subsequently employed with the 3d battalion in Spain, France, and Belgium.

CAPTAIN CHAMBERS, 1ST GUARDS,

Son of the Hon. Jane Chambers, in his 23d year. He was aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Picton, by whose side he fell, at the close of the contest, a few minutes after that lamented General.

CAPTAIN HOBHOUSE, 69TH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Second son of Sir B. Hobhouse, Bart. M. P. He had volunteered, with his accustomed spirit, to act as Sir Colin Halket's orderly, in conveying commands to the different regiments of the brigades. Whilst on horseback, and riding about in a very hot fire, he displayed a *sang froid* and courage which were remarkable to all.—At a most critical period of this sanguinary day, when the regiment was closely engaged with a strong body of the Imperial Guard of Infantry, being a very conspicuous mark, he was struck by a ball on the cheek, and spoke no more. Thus fell, in his 25th year, a highly estimable man, and one of his country's most promising soldiers.

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant General Major General Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-Master General, Colonel Delancey, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his Majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in

CAPTAIN THOMAS CASSAN, 32ND REGIMENT.

This gallant youth was wounded in the battle of the 18th, but concealed his situation, and continued in the field with that manly resolution, intrepidity, and disregard for personal danger, which always distinguished him; his fall is deservedly regretted by his brother officers, and all who knew him. He was the son of the late John Cassan, Esq. Captain 56th regiment, and had been in the 32nd regiment from Ensign to Lieutenant and Captain, and had served in the East Indies.

LIEUTENANT SQUIRES,

Of the 4th regiment of foot, who was desperately wounded in the battle of Waterloo, and whose death, it is our regret to announce at Brussels about three weeks after, was possessed of most amiable manners and conduct, which endeared him to all who knew him. He had served in this regiment during the peninsular campaign, and after in the battle of Thoulouse, the success of the allied army having changed the political aspect in that quarter. This was hardly over, when the subject of this memoir found it his duty to embark for North America, where he took part in the most serious

The Duke of Wellington's dispatch.—Biographical sketches.

this action. Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his Majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wound-

conflict we had in these distant regions, and in which he was wounded; he however recovered, and sailed with his regiment, and had been arrived three days, when he entered the glorious field of Waterloo, where the fates had decreed he should become one of the noble sacrifices: when he received his death-wound, he was acting as the captain of his company. He began his military career as a cadet in the Honourable East India Company's service, but from which he removed, and entered into the Royal Bucks. militia; from which he volunteered with 200 to the 4th regiment of foot, by which means he obtained his commission in this fine regiment.

LIEUT. WILLIAM L. ROBE,

Of the Royal Artillery, son of Colonel Sir William Robe, K. C. B. was one of the most distinguished members of his corps, and the profession; he terminated his bright career in the battle of Waterloo, near La Haye Sainte. This gallant officer entered the army the 3d of October, 1806, as a second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, and was promoted to a first Lieutenancy, the 28th of June, 1808. During eight years of service, he was thirty-three times

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ed, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks

in presence of the enemy in action, frequently at the side of his father, or in the same field. He had the singular honour, as a subaltern officer, to be distinguished for his conduct by the Duke of Wellington, and in consequence, a medal and clasp for the battles of the Nivelles and the Nive have been transmitted to his family. With his latest breath he sent a message to his father, to assure him he died like a soldier. The loss of such a son, Sir William Robe must, as a father, ever regret—as a soldier, however, he cannot fail, with noble pride, to consider his having reared him as a service rendered to his country beyond reward. His brother officers, in testimony of their high esteem and personal attachment, have requested to raise to his memory a tablet, in the church of Waterloo.

LIEUT. J. RALEIGH ELWES,

Of the 71st regiment of Highland Light Infantry, died at Brussels, of wounds which he received at Waterloo, aged 26. He was the youngest son of the late Col. H. Elwes, and brother of Sir Wm. H. Elwes, Bart. of Tynemouth, Northumberland. He had been only ten months married to the daughter of Col. Aird, of the Royal Wagon Train.

Extract from the Military Chronicle.

should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness—I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.



The following extract of a letter, inserted in the Military Chronicle, gives a summary of the operations of the armies from the 16th to the 18th, and is not unworthy of attention.

“ ***** I now proceed to my narrative.— You must have the goodness to take it as I can give it to you. It is as difficult to relate as it is to paint a battle. I used to read with great attention the battles in our history of England, but I should not now deem them worth the labour of reading. They are in every respect fancy pictures. All battles are nearly alike. You may know what is doing in your own division; but you can know little beyond it. By comparing accounts, however, you may arrive at some correct notion. But the smoke, the noise, the business, intercepts all attention during the actual fighting; and you know not that the victory is gained, till you find all clear before you.

Extract from the Military Chronicle.

“ On the 15th June, the greater part of the English general officers were enjoying themselves in the leisure and good living of Brussels, and there certainly was no expectation that hostilities were so near. There was indeed a vague report that the French Emperor had left Paris, and was upon his road to his armies: that he had already been at Laon, and was expected at head-quarters in the neighbourhood of our line. But no one anticipated what was soon to happen. On a sudden, about eight in the afternoon, dispatches were brought to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that the French line had advanced, and that they had already commenced an attack upon Marshal Blucher. But the dispatches did not represent the affair as being very serious, and the Duke and his staff were inclined to believe that it was a mere feint of the enemy. It was the opinion of his Grace that Napoleon would begin his attack immediately upon the English, and that these first movements had no object but to call off the attention, whilst he should make a detour, and advance upon Brussels. Orders were accordingly given to hold the troops in readiness. Every one saw that some movement was about to be made, but the Duke, calm and tranquil as usual, awaited further intelligence, and appeared himself in no haste.

“ Things proceeded in this course till midnight, when the drums beat to arms. Every one now hastened to the several points of rendezvous. The cause became instantly known. The Duke had re-

Extract from the Military Chronicle.

ceived further dispatches. It was the whole of the French army, with the Emperor at its head, which had made the advance ; they had launched themselves as it were upon the Prussians, and had repelled them at every point. They had forced Charleroi, and were advancing towards Brussels. This intelligence rendered the city all hurry and confusion. On every side—from every alley and house, might be seen the officers and soldiers hastily forming and assembling ; and as fast as they formed, marching out of the town. All was confidence, alertness, and an eager wish to come up in time ; our English regiments set the Scotch an example, which was not lost upon them. The inhabitants of Brussels regarded the scene with astonishment ; and it was not the least astonishing feature of the scene to see so many of them tranquil, and to all appearance nearly indifferent, whilst such a conflict was approaching. I am persuaded if Napoleon had succeeded, Belgium would have declared for him.

“ The army was completely clear of Brussels before ten on the morning of the 16th. The Duke and other generals, particularly General Picton, went off in a high and plummy style ; the Duke returned the cheers of the people by promising them that the business would be speedily settled, and that Marshal Blucher had most probably already defeated them. Little did he then imagine that so tremendous a conflict was at hand ; and that Blucher would only owe his deliverance to his more powerful sword.

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

“ The army now continued its march, and about two in the afternoon reached the position intended, in Quatre Bras. The battle instantly began. Whilst the main force of the enemy made repeated attacks upon the Prussians, a corps, near double our number, was directed upon us, and a fierce contest commenced. The principal attack, however, was upon the Prussians. Blucher, with more courage than prudence, had resolved to give battle, though his whole force was not up, and he accordingly now received the assault of the whole French army.—The attack upon us was merely to keep us occupied. The enemy, on the side of the Prussians, first attacked the village of St. Amand; the Prussians fought well—the soldiers a thousand-fold better than the officers! and for some time defended it from

MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

The 92nd Highland Regiment.

The following facts respecting this gallant corps, are particularly worthy of notice.

Lieut. Col. Erskine, of Cardross, the first commanding officer of this corps, fell gloriously at the head of this brave corps, on the 13th of March, 1801, in Egypt.

Lieut. Col. Napier, of Blackstone, his successor, fell in the same manner, at Corunna, January, 1809.

Colonel Cameron, of Fassifern, who succeeded Colonel Napier, fell at Waterloo, on the 18th of June, in the manner described in the Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

Lieut. Col. Mitchell, who then took the command of the regiment, was soon afterwards wounded, and carried off the field, resigning the command of the battalion to Captain Holmes, the

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

the enemy. But the French at length forced it.—They then made a launch upon Ligny, a large village, strongly built, and well posted upon a rivulet. Here the contest was truly tremendous. The battle was between battalion and battalion, and company and company, in paddocks, orchards, and gardens; the walls and fences necessarily dividing the troops on both sides into small parties; and thus, as it were, pitting man to man. The conflict was entirely with certain advanced divisions from both armies; but each army kept feeding its own forces, when they saw them pressed; each having great masses of infantry in the immediate rear of the troops engaged in the conflict. It was like prize-fighting—bloody, desperate, and not a thought of yielding.—The matter, however, gradually became more gene-

senior officer present; but Captain Holmes had not been long in command, when he was also carried off wounded.

Captain Dugald Campbell then took the command, and he was soon after wounded, and carried off the field; the command then devolved again on the next senior officer present.

In the afternoon of the 18th of June, the regiment, which was then reduced to about two hundred men, found it actually necessary to charge a column of the enemy which came down on them, from 2 to 3000 men. They broke into the centre of the column with the bayonet, and the instant they pierced it, the Scotch Greys dashed in to their support, when they and the 92nd cheered and huzzaed, "Scotland for ever!" By the effort which followed, the enemy to a man were put to the sword, or taken prisoners, after which the Greys charged through the enemy's second line.

The 92nd, when there did not remain to it much more than a hundred men, threw themselves over a hedge directly against a

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

ral. Two hundred cannon on both sides were directed against the village, and the combatants were gradually reinforced so as to comprehend nearly the whole army on both sides. The Prussians were at length very sorely pressed, and Blucher looked anxiously out for the English and his fourth corps. But his fourth corps was still distant, and he learned that the English had enough to do to maintain their own post. Blucher's own words are here very emphatic:—"The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury and the same equality of success: we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent: all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not

mass of the Imperial Guard. The latter stood till the Scotch came close up to them. Some firing took place; these terrible adversaries looked each other full in the face, while they coolly levelled their muskets. At length the few of the 92nd made the final charge with the bayonet. The French Guards stood still, but it was only for a moment: before the steel reached them, they had turned their backs—but too late to avoid it. At this moment the Scotch Greys poured in upon the enemy as a flood! they took 1500 prisoners, and actually, as an eye-witness says, "*walked over the French.*"

Sufferings of a wounded Officer.

An officer, who was wounded on the 18th, says, that the horrors of the walk to Brussels, were almost too much for recollection.—The rain fell in torrents; the roads were deep; he was in severe agony with his hurt: the motion of a carriage he could not bear;

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly, a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses.—This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry was already defeated.'

“ The Prussians, therefore, had upon their part lost the day, but retreated in excellent order.—Blucher had a most narrow escape. He fell from his horse in the mid-field, between a charge of the French and Prussians against each other ; the horse rolled over him, and concealed him. The Prussians rode past him upon their part, and the French cuirassiers likewise passed him without seeing him.—

his strength scarcely sufficed for him to drag himself along. He was often forced out of the road, to avoid being crushed to death, and compelled to crawl along through the deep wet grass and entangling briers of the forest of Soignies. Once, a Brunswick soldier ran against his wounded arm with violence, giving him great pain ;—he threw off the man, who hastily lifted a sabre to cut him down ; seeing his wound, however, the fellow showed great signs of commiseration, and passed on.

Shaw, the Life-Guardsman.

A horse-guardsman was left upon the ground within the French lines, desperately wounded in a charge : he threw his helmet from him, for his enemies were chiefly exasperated against our heavy dragoons, by whom they had suffered so much. After some time,

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

Whilst matters were thus proceeding on the part of the French and the Prussians, our British troops were upon their part attacked with great vigour, but had kept their ground most manfully. After a march of 27 miles, we had reached Quatre Bras, and had immediately to enter into action. We had come at the critical moment, when the enemy were actually in possession of a large wood, commanding all four roads, and cutting off our communication with Marshal Blucher. The 3d division had been driven from the wood, and the guards were ordered to retake it. The enemy's tirailleurs retired as we advanced, till at length we passed the wood, and found ourselves in the presence of an immense body of French cavalry ready to charge. From the difficulties of the ground we could not manœuvre, and retired into the wood; the cavalry charged in after us, did us no harm, and were all cut to pieces;

he raised his head; two French lancers saw the movement, and, galloping up to him, dropped both their weapons into his side; they left him for dead—but he still retained life. And shortly afterwards a plundering party came down from the enemy's position, and stripped him. After this, they sent him to the rear, and being too weak to walk, he was dragged with his feet trailing along the ground for fourteen miles; being occasionally struck by those about him, to force him to move his legs. He saw several of his fellow-prisoners murdered. But the French being in full retreat as the night came on, and closely pursued by the Prussians, they at last permitted the miserable man to sink down on the dunghill of an inn, in one of the small towns through which they were at the time passing. Here he lay with his blood running

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

but their light troops advanced in such numbers, as to oblige us to evacuate the wood at ten o'clock, after four hours' hard fighting, till night closed the business. We lost here in the first brigade, Lord Hay, Barrington, Brown, and Cross, killed; Askew, Adair, Miller, Streatfield, Townsend, Stuart, Croft, Fludyer, and Luthel, wounded.

“ During the continuance of this severe contest, the enemy greatly excelled us both in cavalry and artillery. We were indeed woefully deficient in cavalry, and in a great degree in artillery; the British cavalry and horse artillery having reached the ground only at the very close of the action, after having made an immense march from their cantonments beyond the Dender, through roads in many instances extremely bad, and almost impassable for carriages.

17th.—The British troops remained, during the night, on the ground they had so gallantly held; by

about him:—he was awakened from a kind of dose, consisting partly of sleep, and partly of bodily extinction, by one creeping down by his side;—he turned his head, and saw his comrade, the famous SHAW, before mentioned, who could scarcely crawl to the heap, being almost cut to pieces: “ Ah, my dear fellow, I'm done for,” faintly whispered the latter;—but few words passed between them,—and my informant told me that he soon dropped asleep. In the morning he awoke, and poor Shaw was indeed done for: he was lying dead, with his face leaning on his hand, as if life had been extinguished while he was in a state of insensibility. This brave man carried destruction to every one against whom he rode; he is said to have killed a number of the cuirassiers sufficient to make a show against the list of slain furnished

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

which its attacks were defeated; but still it was evident that the principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the Prussians; and from the firing, even to the last, apparently continuing in the same direction where it had been heard during the day, we hoped that our friends had been equally successful with ourselves. Early, however, on the morning of the 17th, it was ascertained that the Prussians had late at night been completely defeated in their centre, by a combined attack of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, and that they had experienced a loss of 15,000 men, and a considerable number of guns. This, together with the corps under General Bulow not having joined, made it necessary for Marshal Blucher to retreat at once towards Gembloux, where he would be reinforced by the detached corps which was marching upon that point. The Duke, when acquainted with this, which was not

for any of Homer's heroes. His death was occasioned rather by the loss of blood from many cuts, than the magnitude of any one: he had been riding about, fighting, a great part of the day, with his body streaming:—and at night he died as has been described.

*Women and Girls died fighting in the Ranks of
the French Army.*

Several women, the wives of soldiers, were killed, and found lying in their plain female dress by the sides of their husbands, to whom they had brought water on hearing that they were wounded. Among the French dead, on the other hand, were found the bodies of several French girls and women in male attire, who had gone forth with their brothers, fathers, husbands, or lovers; and

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until he had sent an aid-de-camp in the morning of the 17th, to communicate with the Prussians (the officer sent on the preceding evening with the information by Marshal Blucher, having been, it was said, intercepted by the enemy,) immediately resolved on falling back with his army on the position in front of Waterloo, which it is understood he had some time before decided upon, as being the best to cover Brussels, in the event of the enemy's advance in this direction ; it was, however, believed, that this movement was by no means agreeable to him ; as he had hoped, when his whole army was concentrated, which it would have been some time early on this day, Lord Hill's corps having arrived at Nivelles and Braine le Comte, to have attacked the enemy in conjunction with the Prussians. A retreat, however, under these circumstances, was unavoidable ; and about one o'clock the whole of the army (with the

had actually fought in their company. This is no uncommon event in the French armies ; such is the romantic devotion of the French women to those whom they love.

Humanity of French Officers.

The following authentic anecdotes, we trust, will serve to give our readers a better idea of French humanity, than is usually afforded by the false and unmanly scandal, so widely circulated respecting their treatment of British prisoners.

The Hon. Colonel Ponsonby, of the 12th Light Dragoons, fell in the first of the three charges of the light horse, at about 11 o'clock on the 18th. His wounds were desperate, and he was lying in a helpless state, when a lancer, probably to ascertain the fact of his existence, in the barbarous manner of all soldiers,

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

exception only of the cavalry and horse artillery, who were destined to cover it,) were in columns of march (the principal body by the road of Genappe,) to occupy those points in the position upon which they had been directed.

“ Our retreat could not be unobserved by the French ; they, however, remained quietly on the ground, to the great surprise of those who witnessed this apparent supineness. There were some, however, who thought it possible they also had retired across the Sambre, having failed in their attempt against us ; and considered the troops that were to be seen, as their rear-guard. It was shortly, however, discovered, that they awaited only the arrival of their cavalry, an immense body of which were, at a little past 1 o'clock, seen advancing along the Namur road towards us on our left ; and there now seems no doubt but that it was the intention of Bonaparte to attack us with his whole force. Our

plunged his lance at his shoulder, which penetrated to his lungs ; meaning, as it is supposed, afterwards to plunder him ; when an advance of another corps drove him away : in this state he lay for a considerable time, with seven severe wounds, and suffering great agony, particularly from thirst ; at length his situation was noticed by a French officer, who lay severely wounded at some distance, and with great difficulty crept towards him, and presented a pocket *pistol* to his mouth, when he was at the last gasp, and from which he drank some kind of spirit : from this humanity he attributes his strength to go through his sufferings. After being on the field for fourteen hours, he was taken up, and carried to Waterloo. While on the ground, he was first rifled by a French

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

cavalry, after some little skirmishing with theirs, commenced their retreat; that of the enemy followed with considerable boldness, and pressed the rear of the British, especially on the high road through Genappe, where there is a narrow bridge that crosses the little river running through that town.—A most tremendous shower of rain then falling, perhaps, in a great degree, contributed to prevent this retreat being harassed so much as it otherwise might have been; the extreme depth of the ground, which was the almost immediate consequence, having put it out of the enemy's power to act upon the flank of our columns; in the centre, however, a very considerable loss was sustained, both by the 7th Hussars (which regiment, it is understood, had to charge under circumstances by no means favourable, on which occasion their Major, Hodge, was killed, gallantly leading on the first squadron,) and by other regiments, particularly the Royal Horse Guards, from the fire of the French artillery.—

soldier, and afterwards by a Prussian, taking even the segars from his pocket.

The colonel, after his recovery, made every endeavour to find this officer, that he might return his grateful acknowledgments.

Colonel Hervey of the 14th, was in a charge of the light cavalry, when he found himself opposed to a French officer, who was proceeding to make a cut at him, when perceiving the colonel had but one arm, he dropt his sword, exclaiming, he would never use his sword against a man so situated. In this instance also, the gallant colonel has been unable to find his noble opponent.

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

During the retreat, the Life Guards made a most determined and successful charge, completely driving back the advanced squadrons of the French, and from that time checking the audacity with which they had pressed on.

“ About five o’clock, or a little after, the whole army had reached the ground on which they were to bivouac and await the result of a battle. The Duke of Wellington here sent to Marshal Blucher, desiring that he would move two corps of his army to our support, from the ground he had taken up near Wavre, on our left; the brave Marshal not only assented, but sent back a proposal, that if Bonaparte should not attack our two armies, we should attack him. Under the circumstances of the severe defeat the Prussians had experienced on the preceding day, it is impossible to say too much for the gallantry which dictated such a proposal on the part of their commander, or for the troops, whose speedy re-organization admitted of its being made.

Humanity to the wounded at Brussels.

After the battle, Brussels gradually filled with wounded: all her doors were thrown open, and not more so than the hearts of her inhabitants. Every one was employed in some fitting office of compassionate relief. Here was found what is most amiable, and even enchanting, springing from almost unexampled rage, slaughter, and misery. Into whatever house you went, you found only the enthusiasm of doing good: the females who were not actually engaged in dressing wounds, were employed in making lint: the soldiers who could not at first be taken into the houses, were laid on straw in the streets, and the ladies of Brussels were seen, during

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

“ The position occupied by the British and allied army was on some rising ground, having nearly along the extent of its front a gentle declivity, which in most places formed an admirable glacis. Through nearly the centre of it ran the high road from Genappe to Brussels. In front of our right centre was the farm of Hougomont; and of our left, that of La Haye Sainte. Our extreme right was at Merke Braine, near Braine la Leude; and our extreme left stood on the ridge almost equi-distant between the hamlet of Verd Cuco and Ter la Haye, having the latter village in its front strongly occupied.— This village, as well as Merke Braine, being situated on defiles, opposed great difficulties to any attempt on the part of the enemy to turn our flanks. From the immediate left of the line in rear of Ter la Haye, was a plain road, which led to Ohain, by which we communicated with the Prussians. The position of the enemy was also a ridge, immediately opposite to that we occupied, and differing in dis-

the whole night and morning, stooping over these poor sufferers, supplying them with refreshment, and, in the absence of medical assistance, using every effort to relieve their agony.

The priests went round collecting for the hospitals; the wealthy sent out carts laden with supplies for the unhappy wretches, who for several days and nights remained on the field of battle, in the most awful state,—it being a labour almost inconceivable, to bring in the thousands that fell there. The appearance of the field, just after the engagement, has been described, but the scene is almost too dreadful for contemplation.

At Quatre Bras, men who had sunk through weakness in the

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

tances at different parts, but generally, I should say, about 1000 or 1200 yards distant, perhaps a little more. The ground was stronger than that we held, the ascent to it being longer than that to ours. The head-quarters of Bonaparte, on the night of the 17th, were at Planchenoit, a farm some little distance in the rear of the French line; and Mont St. Jean was in the high road, immediately in the line of their advance. A part of Lord Hill's corps, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir C. Colville, was detached to Halle, to observe that road.

“The morning of the 18th now dawned, and every one was persuaded that the day would not pass over without a most awful event. Each party promised itself the victory; but the French forces was so great, and evidently so well commanded, that no one could be so perfectly assured of the fortune of the day, but that some anxiety, some transitory apprehension passed over the mind. But this ap-

midst of the corn-fields, came crawling out five or six days after the battle emaciated, and in a state of wildness, nay, of actual derangement, in consequence of pain, hunger, and cold. Those who visited the plain of Waterloo, during the first few days after the battle, saw exhibitions to which the mere heaps of the bodies of the slaughtered were pleasant sights. In some cases, those who had visited the wounded, had supplied them with spirits, or other strong fluids; and what with pain, intoxication, and the recollection of the battle, these poor creatures displayed an extravagance in their wretchedness, which had a tremendous effect.

The liberality and kindness shown to our unfortunate defenders,

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

prehension only more animated the courage of the armies ; each saw that it was necessary to exert itself, and each resolved to do it to the utmost.

“ The position was a plain, interspersed with small hills ; at the bottom of one of these hillocks, and in front of our centre, was a farm and orchards, called Mont St. Jean. This was a most prominent point, and was in fact the key to our position. It was therefore the object of our main anxiety, and of the enemy’s first efforts.

“ At twelve o’clock the columns of the enemy moved down from the heights which they had occupied during the night, and our artillery began to cannonade them most furiously, which their artillery returned ; and it is said 300 pieces were in use that day. The British infantry were drawn up in columns under the ridge of the position. We were at the turn or knuckle, with two battalions of Brunswickers. The third regiment of Guards were in

friends, and relations, went far beyond their bare necessities, and were extended into a zeal and solicitude that could not in fairness have been asked for, nor even hoped for by those most interested in the gallant victims. A young lady of one of the first families in Brussels, persisted, even against advice, in dressing the wound of a veteran serjeant-major, after it had assumed the appearance of mortification, and was in a state requiring the utmost precaution for the safety of its dresser, as well as rendering it extremely offensive to the senses. A slight puncture in her finger admitted some of the poisonous matter, and her life very nearly paid the forfeit of her humanity.

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

column in front of the turn, and the Coldstream at the farm-house. The light infantry of the division were to defend the orchard and small wood next to it. The third division were in squares to the left of our squares, and under cover of the ridge.

“ The cannonade now commenced, and the shot and shells which passed over the artillery fell into our squares. Colonel Cook was struck with a grape shot as he sat on the ground. The enemy now made an attack with infantry and cavalry on the left, in hopes of carrying the high road to Brussels; but the artillery guns cut them to pieces every time they advanced. They then attempted to charge the guns with cavalry; but the squares of infantry kept up such a fire, that they could never reach our guns, though the artillerymen were obliged to leave them to get out of our fire. When the enemy found the attempt fail on this point, he ordered an attack on the farm-house, which it was necessary for him to possess, in order to turn the right of our position.

The Mayor of Brussels literally gave wine and beer, when water only was required. An inhabitant of the name of Troyaux, made his whole establishment a complete hospital, finding, gratuitously, every possible comfort and subsistence for the unfortunate wounded. A female, who had realized a little independence by selling lace, lodged and relieved the distresses of a great many. The fair sex, indiscriminately, in high or low circumstances, were animated with the most solicitous attention.

Sufferings of British Officers.

More than fifteen hundred officers either died on the field of battle, or were destined to linger out a painful existence! The

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

There it was that the serious struggle commenced. Two companies of light infantry, under Lord Saltoun, disputed the wood and orchard most gallantly, but were at last obliged to retire under cover of the house, when the French were charged by the light infantry of the 2nd brigade (the Coldstream and 3d,) and driven back with great loss. At this period the Coldstream entered the house, which the French set on fire by shells, but did not entirely consume it. They were foiled in two repeated attempts, and were each time severely cut up by the British artillery. When they failed in their attacks upon our squares, the cavalry rushed out from between our squares, and cut them up most desperately. When he found these efforts vain, he began his attack upon the centre. He first endeavoured to carry the guns with his cavalry, which came up most gallantly; but our squares repelled them three several times. After these failures he brought up his *Garde Impériale*, just opposite to the brigade of Guards, which

dazzling splendour of gay robes induced many of these to follow a line of life, which only leads to a premature grave, and these splendid military decorations were the causes of so many being marked out for slaughter by the French sharp-shooters. When we contemplate a battle, let us never lose sight of the miseries thereby produced. If the word "*killed*" meant "*experienced an easy death*," it would not excite such horror in the human breast: but it means, being trampled on, being bruised, having a leg broken, and this leg incessantly trampled upon, in all the agonies of excruciating torment, and then lying in the field without a morsel of bread, or a drop of cold water, with thousands of blow-

Extract from the Military Chronicle.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

had formed in line on their advancing. We were all lying under shelter of a small bank, as they covered their advance with a most terrible fire of grape and musketry. Bonaparte led them himself to the rise of the hill, and told them, "that was the way to Brussels" We allowed them to approach very near—when we opened so destructive a fire, that there was soon above 300 of them upon the ground, and they began to waver. We instantly charged, upon which they fled. The Duke of Wellington, observing this crisis, brought up the 42nd and 95th, taking the enemy in flank, and leading them himself quite close up. The enemy's column was entirely dispersed. After this, we were again annoyed with grape and musketry, which obliged us to retire. On fronting, we saw another heavy column of the *Chasseurs de la Garde Imperiale*. We immediately hastened to meet them, but they had had such a proper reception just before, that they never let us come near them; and

flies seizing upon the putrefying flesh. Some were taken out alive amongst the heap of dead bodies, about to be burnt in one funeral pile. Some deemed past medical aid, in vain implored to be selected from this field of carnage.

The 12th Light Dragoons.

This regiment, which was posted near the Prince of Orange, made several charges of the most spirited kind; and nothing but the cuirasses enabled the French dragoons to resist them. In the account of so much pure valour without trick or cover, against so much iron, it is not difficult to decide where honour would award

Further particulars from an Officer.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

when they turned, the rout became general. We ran on as fast as we could, and the cavalry started after them. We got about two miles that evening, taking ourselves 30 pieces of cannon. Nothing could be more complete and decisive. Most fortunately, the Prussians came on the field at this moment, and pursued the enemy through the night.



Letter from an Officer, dated Brussels, June 18.

I suppose you have already seen the Gazette, with the details of the severe action we had on the day before yesterday. It will, therefore, be some slight satisfaction to find that I am able to write to you; and also to learn, that Robert's wound is a trifling one in the leg, which it is likely will not confine him above a week; but, alas! what can give consolation to poor——, for the dreadful loss she has sustained in her dear——. A worthier fellow never breathed. I have been unable to learn the

the balance. Many brave men were sacrificed to the iron cases, and taffeta flags which frightened their horses.

Mont St. Jean.

All the inhabitants had fled from the little village of Mont St. Jean previous to the action, and even Waterloo was deserted; but in a farm-house at the end of the village, one solitary woman remained during the whole of the day, shut up in a garret, from which she could see nothing, and without any means of gaining information of what was passing, while they were fighting man to man, and sword to sword, at the very doors: while shells were

Further particulars from an Officer.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

particulars, but I understand he fell early in the action. It was, perhaps, the most destructive ever fought. The loss fell almost entirely on our division, which, along with the Brunswick troops and some Prussians, was the only one up for the first two hours. The three Scotch regiments are nearly annihilated! Ours had only six officers who escaped! and some are so dangerously wounded, as to give little hope of their recovery. We were amply revenged, however, and gave the French a lesson which they will not soon forget; but they are so strong on this point, that notwithstanding our giving them such a drubbing, his Grace has found it necessary to occupy a better position, by retiring about a league and a half in the rear. He expected another attack yesterday, but it did not take place; and this will give time to Lord Hill and Blucher to operate upon the enemy's flanks, which must oblige him to retrograde. His Grace is strong enough now to repel any attack that may be made upon him; and had the Russians been at hand, we should have

bursting in at the windows, and while the cannon-balls were breaking through the wooden gates into the farm-yard, and striking against the walls of the house. This woman was the farmer's wife: and when asked her motives for this extraordinary conduct, she replied with great simplicity, that she had a great many cows, and calves, and poultry, and pigs—that all she had in the world was there; and that she thought, if she did not stay to take care of them, they would all be destroyed or carried off. The three rooms in the lower part of the house, nay, even the stables and cow-houses, were filled with wounded British officers.

Further particulars from an Officer.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

given such an account of our adversaries, that very few would have returned to relate the tale of their companions' destruction.

With respect to my wound, I have strong assurances from surgeons that it is not dangerous. It was by a round-shot, a six pounder or grape-shot, I think. It gave me a slap obliquely on the front of the left shoulder, and had it been the eighth part of an inch more direct, it would have done for me effectually. I was within a hundred yards of the gun, which we were in the act of charging.

You would be astonished how we could have borne the fatigue which we suffered. We marched from Brussels at one o'clock in the morning, and arrived at three that afternoon at the place of action, having marched nine leagues. We were engaged in five minutes after, and continued so till ten at night. I was wounded about half-past eight, when I was obliged to walk six miles to the nearest village, where I lay in pain, and sleepless, till daylight. I was again obliged to walk to Brussels,

The 30th and 73d Regiments.

These regiments, brigaded under the gallant Sir Colin Halket, greatly distinguished themselves. To no square did the artillery, and particularly the cuirassiers, pay more frequent and tremendous visits; and never was it shaken for a moment. The almost *intimacy* of the soldiers with these death-bringing visitants, increased so much as the day advanced, that they began to recognise their faces. Their boldness much provoked our men. They galloped up to the bayonet-points, where of course their horses made a full stop, to the great danger of pitching the riders into the square.

Further particulars from an Officer.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

seven leagues ; not being able to bear the motion of a wagon. The exertion has done me no good. I am indeed surprised that I was able to make it out. The poor fellows who had escaped, bivouacked in the field without tents or baggage ; last night the same, and it has rained incessantly. I am unable to give you the particulars of the action—it was altogether brilliant and decisive. The Highlanders and Royals, in particular, behaved admirably. Our regiment was charged by a body of cuirassiers of the guard, and we gave them a noble peppering.—We also charged a column of infantry, which we dispersed ; but on getting behind some hedges, they rallied, and gave us a terrible fire. It was here that our regiment suffered most. Cameron, our gallant colonel, and four others, fell almost at the same instant—this was about six o'clock. We drove them, however, from all the hedges, and advanced upon two guns, which began to open upon us with grape. These we also drove from two different positions. The French suffered prodigiously,

They then rode round and round the fearless bulwark of bayonets ; and in all the confidence of panoply, often coolly walked their horses, to have more time to search for some chasm in the ranks, where they might ride in. The balls absolutely rung upon their mail ; and nothing incommoded the rider, except bringing down his horse, which at last became the general order. In that event he surrendered himself, and was received within the square, till he could be sent prisoner to the rear.

Colonel Halket takes a French General.

A French general was giving his orders with great confidence,

Further particulars from an Officer.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

but our cavalry and artillery not being up, we could do no more than repel their attacks.

19th.—I felt so feverish last night, that I was obliged to stop short.—I am rather easier this morning, and in better spirits; for the grandest, though perhaps most sanguinary battle on record, was gained last night, nearly 300 pieces of cannon taken, and many thousand prisoners. Bonaparte's equipages, baggage, &c. The pursuit is continued, and our advance, I dare say, by this time, in France.—The courier arrived in the Duke of Bassano's carriage. Our regiment was again engaged, and suffered severely. There is scarcely one officer left. Never was there a sight so touching, so extraordinary, as this town presents;—the people in crowds going out to meet the wounded with refreshments, bandages, &c.—all the women employed in the kindest offices. I returned to the house of my former landlord, where I am treated as if I were his own brother. The French prisoners are treated by the populace in the most violent manner; the escort can with difficulty protect them from being attacked.

to a large body of troops, and had come to their front unattended. Colonel Halket made a dash at him at full gallop; and, putting a pistol to his breast, seized his horse's reins, and brought him off from the very beards of his wonder-struck soldiers!

Ruse de Guerre.

The cuirassiers were repeatedly driven off by the 30th, and their comrade regiment reduced themselves by painful degrees, more and more every attack. Line was always again formed with unwearied alacrity; no complaint escaped the patient soldier's

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

Extract of a Letter from Sergeant C. W. of the 3d Battalion, 1st Regt. of Foot Guards.

Camp, Bois du Bologne, Paris, 29th July, 1815.

On the 16th of June, we marched at four o'clock in the morning the distance of about twenty-four miles, and then rushed into action. We arrived just in time, or the enemy would have forced the Belgians. With one hour and a half's hard fighting, we maintained our position, with some little advantages, but our loss was great.

As you have received a more perfect account in the public dispatches, I shall only, as briefly as possible, insert a few facts which have not yet been mentioned.

On the 18th of June, the day of Waterloo, we took up a good position, at the same time leaving the enemy one they would accept. We opened seven guns on them before they returned an answer; then, most tremendously, the action commenced, but God was with us.

lips, if we except an occasional cry to be led on. The storm was seen again gathering and rolling on;—the serious command, "re-form square! prepare to receive cavalry!" was promptly and accurately obeyed. The whole were prostrate on their breasts, to let the iron shower of the artillery fly over, and erect in an instant, when the cannon ceased and the cavalry charged.—Their country do not know one-tenth of the merit of "the men of Waterloo."

Unable to break in upon the square by open force, a commanding officer of cuirassiers tried a *ruse de guerre*; he lowered his

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

I addressed my company in a few words, to “be steady, and attentive to orders—keep perfect silence, and put your whole trust in God’s help, for he is with us; be strong and determined;—use all your skill in levelling; make sure your mark—and in the charge use all your strength;—and you shall see, by the close of this day’s sun, your enemies fly, and the shouts of victory shall be yours.” I felt my mind stayed upon God; and my confidence was so firm, that neither the thunder of our enemy’s cannon and musketry—nor the boast of his guards—nor the threats of his cavalry (in mail) either alarmed my breast, or concerned my mind: God, I knew, was my Father—my Shield—and Refuge.—I cannot say that I attempted to boast myself with confidence of escape unhurt, as I now experience.

The enemy fired round-shot and shell,—grape and canister,—and new horse-nails, tied up in bundles, nine bundles in a gun; these I saw and handled on the 19th,—my eyes have seen much.

sword to General Halket. Several of the officers called out, “Sir, they surrender.”—“Be firm and fire!” was the promptly obeyed answer. The general justly suspected an offer of surrender to a body of infantry fixed to the spot in a defensive position, by a body of cavalry, who had the option of galloping off with all the plain open behind them. The volley sent the colonel and his cuirassiers, as usual, about, with a laugh of derision from the men he had meant to cut to pieces; and many a ring from their balls, upon the back-pieces of the mails.

This gallant brigade was honoured with several visits from the illustrious Chief. In one he inquired, “how they were?” The

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

Sir, I have the happiness to serve in the third battalion of the First Guards, who in a particular manner distinguished themselves, determined to shout, "Victory!" or return no more; and God blessed their endeavours. Our third battalian, and a battalion of rifle of the K. G. L. (say 1200 men) advanced three hundred paces in front of the whole line, into a valley which lay between the two positions, and within one hundred yards of about 6000 cavalry and 3000 infantry of the enemy. They viewed us with astonishment; and to prove that God had filled them with fear, they formed squares, and neither charged nor fired upon us, except from the heights of their position; but we suffered much from those guns. We remained firing at them for half an hour, and then retired to our post in line. The cavalry in armour charged us many times in the course of the day, but made no impression; we repulsed them with great slaughter. We never fired at the cavalry till they came within about thirty yards of us. Towards the evening, Bonaparte di-

answer was, that two-thirds of their number were down, and that the rest were so exhausted, that leave to retire, even for a short time, was most desirable; and some of the foreign corps, who had not suffered, to take their place. General Halket was told that the issue depended on the unflinching front of the British troops; and that even a change of place was hazardous in the extreme. He impressively said, "*Enough, my lord, we stand here till the last man falls.*"

At the close of the battle, this fine and gallant general received

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

rected against us his choice 105th regiment; and in half an hour we cut them all to pieces, and took one stand of colours. He then sent against us his Grenadier Imperial Guards; they came within one hundred yards of us, and prepared to charge; but we advanced upon them in quick time, and opened a brisk file fire by two ranks—they allowed us to come within about thirty yards of them—they stood still then, looking at us, as if panic-struck, and did not fire—they then, as we approached, faced about, and fled for their lives, in all directions; they did not like the thought of the British bayonets, for we had just commenced the charge; they ran very fast, but many of them fell, while we pursued, and with them one stand of colours; and I have the honour to wear a colonel's sword of the French Imperial Guard.

Though not mentioned in the dispatch (they all fought well,) yet it was our third battalion of the First Guards, and the rifle battalion of the German Legion, that first completely turned the day in our

a ball in his cheek, which carried away the palate, and has incapacitated him from tasting the food which he swallows.

Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington.

By ten o'clock on the 16th, the Duke, with General Alava, and his staff, were in advance, and near Quatre Bras. They were soon recognised by the enemy, and the artillery was brought to play on the spot; but such was the bravery of the Duke, that he would not quit his exposed situation, until he had satisfied his mind, which he did at twelve o'clock of that day.

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

favour: it was at this moment of the charge that I prayed thus, “ Lord, stretch forth thine arm ;” and this I did unceasingly, until the enemy was driven. When the Imperial Guards, the dependance of Bonaparte, ran, his defence departed from him, and his whole line, as has been stated, became confusion.—Much to the honour of his Grace (as in every case throughout the day,) in the space of five minutes he formed a line in the valley for a general charge, and then the shout of “ victory ! victory !” was heard.

I lost of my company, killed and wounded, three officers, three sergeants, and fifty-four rank and file out of ninety-seven. Several of them, after their wounds were dressed, returned to the field, and fought out the battle.

On the 16th of June, I was informed of an officer belonging to the French, who was wounded and fell, and being unable to make his escape, he ripped out his bowels with his own sword, and beat his head against a gate rather than be taken prisoner.—It chilled my blood to hear of so desperate an act. I have good reason to credit the fact.

Soon after three o'clock on the 17th, the Duke of Wellington rode into that part of the field of battle which is close to the village of Quatre Bras. He was followed by his staff, which was not, however, very numerous. He halted a few yards in front of the 92nd regiment, exposed to a very heavy fire of round-shot and grape. He spoke little or nothing ; his look was that of a man quite cool, but serious, and perhaps something anxious.—He looked intensely at various parts of the field where there was firing going on, and often pulled out his watch, as if calculating

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

The Duke has greatly endeared himself to the British soldiers; more so on this occasion than before. I ever loved and reposed confidence in him as my commander; but the example he gave us on the 18th, and again on the 26th of June, was sufficient to influence every man with that fortitude and determination; "With Wellington we will conquer, or with Wellington we will die!" He was continually on the first line, and frequently with our battalion. I have seen some of the enemy's cavalry charge within fifty yards of him. I prayed to God most earnestly for his protection; and I bless the Lord for his preservation. I hope his heart will rejoice in the fruit of his labour, giving God the glory due for his many signal victories.

I am happy to say, that Major General Maitland is safe and well; he is an example to all around. I lament the sufferings of my late Colonel Cooke: he was severely wounded on the 18th; I pray God to spare his valuable life. You have often heard me speak of him.

on the arrival of the regiments not yet come up. He said something, at one of these times, about when the cavalry might be expected. The shot, in the mean while, was plunging into, and along the ground, close to him. He had not been long in the field before the arm of a gentleman, with whom he had just been in conversation, was carried off by a ball. The sufferer was instantly removed,—but his lordship was not observed to take any notice of the unpleasant affair.

An officer belonging to the battalion close behind the Duke, suddenly observed a column of French infantry approaching.

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes

But what shall I say in honour of my late Lieut. Colonel, William Miller? My great friend, my helper, a servant to the cause of Christ (in the Isle de Leon, to his latest breath.) He is no more to be seen in this world: he was mortally wounded on the 16th of June, and on the 18th he breathed his last. He was the son of Sir William Miller, Bart. of Scotland. Britain regrets the loss of those memorable men, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton and Sir William Ponsonby, and so do I: and to myself, and to every good soldier, and every officer that knew him in this regiment, with many others; the name of Miller is dear; and we regret in him the loss of a man, a gentleman, an officer, and a soldier; a father, and a friend: he was an example of good, and a terror to evil. His study was to do good; and as to military tactics, perhaps few excelled him. He was a pupil of Lieut. General Sir H. Clinton, under whose care he received much valuable instruction and experience. His penetration was deep, his judgment sound, and his

He exclaimed hastily and loudly—"There is a body of them!"—The Duke heard what was said, and gently, without any alteration of manner, turned his horse's head in the direction to which the officer pointed, and moved slowly that way, "Yes," said he, "there is a considerable body there—a considerable number indeed," Then, without altering his quiet tone—"Colonel, you must charge." The charge was made, and other charges succeeded, the whole of which were successful; but scarcely a wreck of that gallant battalion returned—and that small remainder was reduced to a remainder of itself on the glorious but dreadful 18th.

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.

principles firm and good: he was very liberal, and a subscriber to many charitable institutions; and, if he had lived, he would have been so to more on his return to England. I have carried for him as much as £10 at one time to a charitable institution.

As for Colonel Miller's attention to his company, none excelled. He was continually inquiring what could be done to make them more comfortable.—“I do not care for the expense,” he would say, “money is no object to me.” On the close of a day's march, his first care was to see his men comfortable, and then he considered himself; and after an absence of any time, his first inquiry was concerning their health and conduct. Before the enemy he was cool and deliberate, vigilant and brave, firm and determined; and on the 16th of June, at the head of his company, in very close action, cheering his men, he received a wound in his breast, which proved mortal. As he passed to the rear, borne by four men, he said, “Let me see the colours.” The last office I could do for him was to place the colours in Ensign Batty's hand, to pay him his funeral honours while living. He then said, “I thank you,—that will do;—I am satisfied.” His meaning was, that he died for his country, and in a just cause.

I have lost my greatest friend, and my company a father, England a valuable officer, his parents a beloved son, and the church of Christ a friend; but may our loss be his eternal gain! Sergeant

Letter from a Sergeant in the Guards.

Clarke, who attended him, informs me that his last breath was prayer. I hope his soul is at rest! His labours of love and charity follow him. I shall see him no more in this world, but his name will be a lasting treasure to my heart. Believe me, sir, I never felt a loss like this before: I cannot find words to express the feelings of my heart.

I am very sorry for the commanding officer of our battalion, and First Major Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, and Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable H. Townshend, who are severely wounded: they are most excellent officers, and brave soldiers. May God in mercy restore them shortly to health!

On our march to Paris, we passed through a most beautiful and fruitful country; we met with but little opposition. At Peronne, on the 26th of June, after a long day's march, on our arrival, his Grace gave the first brigade a job. Our second battalion carried fascines: and the third battalion stormed the outworks in a most masterly manner, and the citadel surrendered immediately. Major General Maitland commanded; and here again the Duke was himself in the midst of it. It has been expressed, that our beloved Commander is not much exposed. I can fully contradict that assertion, for he is often first, and always in the midst: he will not permit others to do his duty. I believe Britain is his treasure, and his life he has pledged for its safety. Several villages on the road were deserted, for which the inhabitants suffered the loss

Another Letter from an Officer.

of all things. Protection was given to those that remained. Much damage has been done to the corn. We expect to go into barracks at Paris in a few days, and then I hope to be able to open a place for Divine worship, and in my next to give you a more full account of the blessed cause in which my soul delights; but I must confess I never felt the separation from God's people in England, as I have on this service. Though I am blessed with great strength of body and mind, and union and communion with God, yet my heart is at home. Oh! happy, happy England! If thou didst but know thy exaltation and privileges, both great and small would love and adore the Author of all thy mercies!!

I am, Sir,

Your most dutiful and obliged servant,
C. W.

Colonel Sergeant, 3d battalion, 1st Foot Guards.



*Letter from an Officer of the Life Guards to his
Father.*

The infantry retreated in regular order on the 16th. The Duke particularly requested that this might not become a rout. The fame of our commander has been equal when retreating as when victorious, and perhaps the general is better seen under the former circumstances. Bonaparte hazards all, and never prepares for a retreat; hence Moreau

Another letter from an Officer.

and Wellington are esteemed better commanders. The 7th Hussars were left to cover this retreat. They charged a body of the enemy's cuirassiers; the horses were too small to produce any effect, and their swords shivered into atoms like glass, when they struck the steel armour of these men. Musket-balls had no effect, the armour being also proof against them. Although the officers and men displayed great valour, they were unequal to the contest, wholly so. It was like a small boat endeavouring to run down a man of war, or a frog in the fable fancying he was a match for a bull. They were, however, more rapid in their motions than their antagonists, and appeared (to use another comparison) like butterflies before the wind.

The French cuirassiers hurried on their pursuit, and the rear squadron actually surrendered themselves prisoners. The advance was so bold and rapid, that there was even a danger of the Duke himself being made prisoner, who now, like a prudent general, remained in the rear. The weather was very sultry, and there came on such a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, as I have seldom or never before witnessed. The road was one entire sheet of water, and the unpaved margins, which resemble our roads, were nearly impassable.

The enemy still advancing, the Duke ordered us (the Life Guards) to make a charge to cover the retreat of the 7th Hussars, and secure the safety of the retreating army. Our horses being superior to

Another letter from an Officer.

the French, which are tall, but lean, and mostly grey, and our men being of the same height as the cuirassiers, and our swords equalling those of the enemy in length, we met them with a most determined valour.

The men were more like lions than human beings; and being informed that the cuirassiers made a thrust, after firing their pistols they parried this thrust, and made what we call cut *six*, and this being a back-handed chop, cut the face asunder, and, in some instances, the head was literally severed from the body. The charge being made, and oftentimes the horses literally dashing down their opponents, we made our retreat, but turned, and made a second and third charge, and drove them back nearly three quarters of a mile.

When we returned, those who survived amongst our own people (the Life Guards) were welcomed with three cheers, the hats in the hand, from the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesea, and the staff, who declared they had never seen such courage before displayed at any time, and gave them thanks, which was communicated to the troops.

At two o'clock the cavalry of the enemy pressed very forward, and the Duke ordered a wagon load of rockets to be blown up, which blinded for a time the pursuers and astonished them. As we proceeded on our bivouac, I cannot give you further particulars of what others did on that day; but we lay all that night (the 17th) up to the knees in mud,

Prussian official report.—Dispositions of the army.

without any canvass or covering, and our horses were not in a better state, it raining tremendously during the whole of that night, so that we were all wet through.



*Prussian Official Report of the Operations of the
Army of the Lower Rhine.*

It was on the 15th of this month, that Napoleon, after having collected on the 14th five corps of his army, and the several corps of the Guard, between Meaubeuge and Beaumont, commenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps, were Fleurus, Namur, Ancy, and Hannut; the situation of which made it possible to unite the army in one of these points in twenty-four hours.

On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin upon the two banks of the Sambre against Charleroi. General Zeithen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had on that day a very warm action with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleroi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Zeithen maintained himself in his position near that place.

Field Marshal Blucher, intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the second and third corps were to arrive on the 15th, and the fourth corps on the 16th.

Lord Wellington had united his army between

Prussian official report.—Battle of Ligny.

Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist Field Marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

Battle of Ligny.

June the 16th, the Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situated on its front. Meantime only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, had been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless Field Marshal Blucher resolved to give battle, Lord Wellington having already put in motion to support him a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the fourth corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

The battle began at three, P. M. The enemy brought up above 130,000 men—the Prussian army was 80,000 strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it after a vigorous resistance. He then directed his efforts against Ligny;—it is a large village, solidly built, situated on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began, which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken, but here the battle continued for five hours in the villages themselves. and the movements for-

Prussian official report.—Battle of Ligny.

wards or backwards were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each army had behind the part of the village which it occupied, great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was set on fire in several places at once. From time to time the combat extended along the whole of the line; the enemy having also directed troops against the three corps; however, the main combat was against Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops—a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken from the French by a battalion commanded by the Field Marshal in person; in consequence of which advantage we had regained the height which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the fourth corps of the Prussian army: in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the Field Marshal the means of making immediately, with the right wing, an attack from which great success might be expected; but news arrived that the English division destined to support us was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained

Prussian official Report.—Retreat of the Prussians.

itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear. So that we were forced to maintain alone the contest with an enemy greatly superior in numbers.

The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury, and the same equality of success. We invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which by favour of the night had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise, on the part of the enemy, was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

Our infantry posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds himself exposed, or by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its re-

Prussian official report.—Battle of Ligny.

trograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannons in their precipitate retreat, had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder; in this manner fifteen pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle the army formed again.

The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielmann had fought with the 3d corps, and whence he, at day-break, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the 4th corps, under General Bulow,* had at length arrived during the night. The 1st and 2nd corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded.

The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our soldiers had fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence

* This distinguished officer died at Königsberg on the 25th of February, 1816, in the 61st year of his age. As a hero, and one of the deliverers of Germany, he had attained the summit of glory and fortune. No higher proof can be given of the estimation in which he was held by his country, than the order given by his sovereign, for the Prussian army to go into mourning three days for the deceased warrior.

Prussian official report.—Danger of Marshal Blücher.

in his own strength. On this day Field Marshal Blücher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed; while that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket-shot struck the Field Marshal's horse. The animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The Field Marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, advanced; our last horseman had already passed by the Field Marshal; an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but Heaven watched over us. The enemy, pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the Field Marshal without seeing him: the next moment a second charge of our cavalry having repelled them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him any more than they had done the first time.

Then, but not without difficulty, the Field Marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon horse.

On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre.—Napoleon put himself in motion against Lord Wellington, upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained, on the same day, near Quatre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right

Prussian official report.—Battle of the 18th.

wing leaning upon Bruerie la Leu, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the Field Marshal that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the Field Marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The Field Marshal promised to come with his whole army. He even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to show how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength—thus ended the day of the 17th.

Battle of the 18th.

At break of day the Prussian army again begun to move. The 4th and 2nd corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The 3d corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten, A. M.

The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean, that of the French was on the heights before Planchmort; the former was about 80,000 strong, the enemy had above 130,000. In a short time the battle became general along the whole line: it seems that Napoleon had the design to

Bulow advances on the rear of the enemy's right wing.

throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestrecht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments, and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority in numbers of the enemy was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the British troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that nearly two brigades of the 4th corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned them. The decisive moment was come, there was not a moment to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly along the rear of the enemy's right wing.—The enemy did not lose his presence of mind, he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a mur-

Prussian official report.—General Zeithen's successful attack.

derous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence. Towards six, P. M. we received the news that General Thielmann with the 3d corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable enemy's corps, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The Field Marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported with the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone insure the victory, and if it was obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half-past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain.

The whole of the 4th corps, and a part of the 2nd, under General Pisch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury; however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first column of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This movement decided the defeat of the enemy.

The right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his position. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on

Prussian official report.—Retreat of the French.

all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced. Circumstances were entirely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army, the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights, which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order, while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm.

From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole of the French army, which, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians.

It was half-past nine—The Field Marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French army pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy

Prussian official report.—Pursuit of the retreating enemy.

who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down, or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit; for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had entrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages, at our approach. We suddenly heard in the town a great noise, and a motion of carriages: at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon-shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and an instant after the town was ours.

It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had left it to mount on horseback, and in his hurry had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affair continued till break of day. About 40,000 men in the most complete disorder; the remains of the whole army have saved themselves, by retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

Premature bulletin of Bonaparte.

At three o'clock, Napoleon dispatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful;* a few hours after he had no longer any left wing. We have not yet

* Bonaparte had sent word by telegraph to the Parisians, affecting the style of Cæsar, "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*;" (I came—I saw—I conquered,) and affirming, "that the effect was truly electrical, that the flight of his enemies was like the representation of a drama, it being so complete." The following bulletin was actually placarded in different parts of Paris, confirmative of the overthrow of the allied forces:—

"The emperor has just obtained a complete victory over the Prussian and English armies united, under the command of Lord Wellington and Marshal Blucher. The enemy experienced a dreadful overthrow. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. They were routed in all directions. We have already several thousand prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon.—Prisoners every instant are announced.

PRINCE OF ECKMUHL, Minister of War."

The city of Paris, and other cities which had received this *auspicious* intelligence, illuminated in consequence, and gave themselves up to all the enthusiasm of public rejoicings. Little were they aware, that before the setting of the sun, their august emperor was destined to become a degraded fugitive, the remains of their fine army flying in confusion before their brave conquerors, and their country placed at the mercy of an enemy, whom their perfidy and perjuries had so justly provoked. And as little did the French soldiers themselves, revelling in the prospects of conquest and plunder, anticipate these sad disasters, on the evening of the 17th. A few short miles only interposed between them and the rich capital of the Netherlands: but a portion of ground much less distant, was speedily to become the sepulchre of thousands of these devoted victims.

Prussian account.—Unexampled victory.

any exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole army are killed, wounded, or prisoners; among the latter are Generals Duhesme and Campans. Up to this time, about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete, and there is certainly no example that an army two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to the troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle—it was there that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There too it was, that by a happy chance Field Marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the Field Marshal desired that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By the order of Field Marshal BLUCHER.

General GNEISENAU.

Prince Blucher's proclamation to the Prussian army.

PROCLAMATION,

Addressed by Field Marshal Prince Blucher to the Army of the Lower Rhine, to be read at the head of every Battalion.

“ Brave Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Lower Rhine!—You have done great things, brave companions in arms. You have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken.

“ You have had to struggle with privations, but you have borne them with fortitude. Immovable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a bloody battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your commanders, as well as of perseverance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory.

“ It was with these sentiments you marched to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this great struggle has struck, and has shown who was to give the law, whether an adventurer, or governments who are the friends of order. Destiny was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, that firmness, that confidence, which characterizes experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced

Prince Blucher's proclamation to the Prussian army.

two days before. There, rapid as lightning, you penetrated his already shaken columns. Nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy in his despair turned his artillery upon you; but you poured death into his ranks, and your progress caused in them disorder, dispersion, and at last a complete rout. He found himself obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon, and his army is dissolved.

“ A few days will suffice to annihilate those perjured legions, who were coming to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe.

“ All great commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army : you have proved that this opinion is ill founded ; you have proved that resolute warriors may be vanquished, but that their valour is not shaken.

“ Receive, then, my thanks, incomparable soldiers—objects of all my esteem. You have acquired a great reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immovable columns of the Prussian monarchy, that the destinies of the king and his august house, will for ever repose.

“ Never will Prussia cease to exist, while your sons and your grandsons resemble you.

(Signed)

“ BLUCHER.”

Prince Blucher's letters.

PRINCE BLUCHER'S LETTERS.

*To his Excellency the General Count Kalkreuth,
Governor of Berlin.*

Head Quarters at Genappe, June 19, 1815, quarter-past 5, A. M.

“ I hereby acquaint your Excellency, that, in conjunction with the English army, under the Duke of Wellington, I obtained the completest victory that it is possible to gain, over Napoleon Bonaparte. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of a few insulated houses, lying on the road from this place to Brussels, and called La Belle Alliance: and I think there cannot be a better name for this important day. The French army is in a state of entire disorganization, and a prodigious quantity of artillery is taken. Time does not allow me to give your Excellency any further particulars at this moment.— I reserve to myself the communication of the details, and beg your Excellency to publish this joyful news to the good people of Berlin.

“ BLUCHER.”

*To the Princess Blucher, written immediately after
the Battle.*

“ My dear Wife,

“ You well remember what I promised you, and I have kept my word. The enemy's superiority of numbers obliged me to give way on the 17th; but on the 18th, in conjunction with my friend Wellington, I put an end at once to Bonaparte's dancing. His army is completely routed, and the whole of his artillery, baggage, caissons, and equipages, are

Prince Blucher's letters.

in my hands; the insignia of all the various orders he had worn, are just brought me, having been found in his carriage, in a casket. I had two horses killed under me yesterday. It will soon be all over with Bonaparte.

BLUCHER."

"P. S. (Written by the Princes's son, on the road to Genappe.)—Father Blucher embraced Wellington in such a hearty manner, that every body who was present, said it was the most affecting scene that could be imagined."

To Major General Von Dobschutz, Military Governor of the Prussian Provinces on the Rhine.

Head Quarters at Merbes-le-Chateau, June 21.

"SIR,

"It is with great pleasure I inform you, that the consequences of the victory of the 18th continue to prove more and more brilliant. The enemy's army is entirely broken up, and has lost, as near as we can calculate, 300 cannon: not a regiment of the enemy's is together, and subordination has ceased among them. During the battle of the 18th, a French corps had penetrated to Wavre, to operate on our line of communication, and hinder us from supporting the Duke of Wellington; this corps of the enemy was yesterday forced back, by Lieut. General Von Thielmann, who was opposed to it at Wavre, as far as Namur; and Lieut. General Thielmann probably occupied that place yesterday, evening. Maubeuge was surrounded yesterday, and Landrecies and Avesnes will be so to-morrow.

"BLUCHER."

Prince Blucher's farewell address to the Belgians.

From another official Letter.—Gosselies, June 20.

“ I have recovered from my fall, but I have had again a horse wounded. I believe now that we shall not so soon have any considerable battle, perhaps not at all. The victory is the most complete that ever was gained. Napoleon escaped in the night without either hat or sword. I sent both sword and hat to-day to the king. His most magnificently embroidered state mantle and his carriage are in my hands, as is his perspective glass with which he observed us during the battle. His jewels and all his valuables are the booty of our troops. Of his equipage he has nothing left.

“ Many a private soldier has got 5 or 600 dollars in booty. Napoleon was in the carriage to retreat, when he was surprised by our troops: he leaped out, jumped upon his horse without his sword, losing his hat, which fell off, and so he probably escaped under favour of the night. The consequences of this victory are incalculable, and Napoleon's ruin will be the result of it. BLUCHER.”

Marshal Prince Blucher to the brave Belgians.

Head Quarters, Marbes-le-Chateau, June 21, 1815.

“ My army being on the point of entering the French territory, we cannot leave you, brave Belgians! without bidding you farewell, and without expressing our lively gratitude, for the hospitality which you have shown to our soldiers. We have had an opportunity of appreciating your virtues.—

Letter from an officer in the Prussian army.

You are a brave, a loyal, and a noble people. At the moment when danger seemed to threaten you, we were called to give you aid: we hastened to obey the call, and it was much against our will that we found ourselves compelled, by circumstances, to wait so long for the commencement of the contest, which we should have been glad to see begin sooner. The presence of our troops has been burdensome to your country; but we have paid, with our blood, the debt of gratitude which we owed you; and a paternal government will find means to indemnify such among you as have suffered the most by the quartering of our troops.

“ Adieu, brave Belgians! The remembrance of the hospitable reception you have afforded us, as well as the recollection of your virtues, will be eternally engraven on our hearts. May the God of peace protect your fine country; May he remove from it, for a long period. the troubles of war!— May you be happy, as you deserve to be!— Farewell!

BLUCHER.”



*Letter from an Officer of high Rank in the
Prussian Army.*

Genappe, sur Ouisse, near Guise, June 24, 1815.

“ The army has behaved gloriously. The 3d corps had to cover our rear while we were engaged; it had some severe attacks to support, and fought without interruption on the 18th, 19th, and 20th; it was at first in a critical situation, but extricated

Further particulars from a Prussian officer.

itself very well ; if we had lost the battle, this was our only dependence.

“ Never was any battle so fine as ours at La Belle Alliance, never battle so decisive, and never was an enemy so completely destroyed. With some corps of the army, we had got, unperceived, into the rear of the enemy, who with great superiority of numbers, and still greater impetuosity, had attacked the Duke of Wellington, and kept ourselves concealed in a wood.

“ Just as the fate of the day was dubious, the British army had lost considerable ground, and the enemy was ready to strike another blow against it, we resolved, though our columns were for the most part not come up, to make the attack with two brigades only : we therefore burst out of the wood, exactly in the rear of the enemy, and opened our fire. The enemy was now in a desperate situation ; but fought, however, with a desperation suitable to it, and turned all his reserve against us. We maintained our position. The enemy brought up fresh troops against us ; but we also became stronger every quarter of an hour : the firing became so violent, that the enemy’s cannon-balls flew by us without ceasing, not to mention our own fire ; I could scarcely hear the notices that were brought, and give the necessary orders ; and though my voice is very powerful, I was obliged to exert it to the utmost, in order to be heard. As our troops continued to be reinforced, we advanced cautiously but incessantly ; it was a grand sight to see our

From a Prussian officer.—Escape of Bonaparte.

battalions formed into square masses, descend from the heights, which rise like terraces, preceded by their batteries and sharp-shooters. After an obstinate resistance the enemy's army was broken, and fled in the utmost disorder. General Gneisenau, resolved to leave him not a moment's repose, put himself at the head of the troops, encouraged the tired men to follow him, and so with only a few cannon, which we fired from time to time, we drove him from all his bivouacs, and continually firing and cutting him down, we pursued till we at last reached the Guards. Bonaparte had intended to stop at Genappe; but when he heard our cannon, and our cavalry and infantry, though few in number, come up, he escaped from his carriage, defending himself with his pistols. Besides his hat and sword, his seal ring was also taken, and now blazes on the hand of the hero Gneisenau. We have got all his baggage, even his diamonds. The fusileers sold four or five diamonds, as large as a pea, or even larger, for a few francs. We have a large quantity of diamonds of a middle size, and one of the size of a pigeon's egg: the fusileers have chosen out the finest as a present to the king. The subaltern officers of this battalion dine now upon silver. We did not halt till day-break. It was the finest night of my life: the moon beautifully illuminated the scene, and the weather was mild. General Gneisenau had again a horse killed by a cannon-ball in the last battle, another twice wounded by musket-

Full description of Bonaparte's carriage.

balls, his sabre once beat out of the scabbard, and once shot to pieces."

Letter from Duffeldorf—June 26.

"Bonaparte's costly travelling carriage, which is provided with every convenience, and which was taken by the 15th Prussian regiment of infantry of the line, arrived here yesterday afternoon. What various thoughts and feelings must the sight of this carriage inspire! It was naturally an object of general curiosity. Upon being examined, it was found to contain several private drawers, filled with various articles of value; among other things, some articles belonging to Bonaparte's toilet; various articles for the table, mostly massy gold. It is, in many respects, very like the modern English carriages. Its colour is a dark blue, with a light ornament in gold, the imperial arms painted on the doors. The springs, the pole, the wheels, &c. are uncommonly strong, and the whole of very excellent workmanship. But with all that the carriage is of an awkward appearance, because there is a great prominence in the front, which contains the room for bed, the *necessaire*, &c. The interior of the carriage proves, that Bonaparte valued convenience and security. The blinds behind the windows shut and open by means of a spring, and may be closed so as to form an impenetrable barrier.—They may, besides, be secured by a bolt on each side. On the ceiling of the carriage there is a net-

Description of Bonaparte's carriage.

work, to put small travelling requisites into. In the front there are many small compartments, partly, as it seems, for maps, partly for telescopes, &c.—By the side of these small compartments there is a writing-desk, which may be drawn out so as to write on it whilst riding : an ink-stand, some pens, sealing-wax, &c. were found in it. Beneath the writing-desk there is a hole for the end of the patent iron bedstead, which was found in the carriage, and which may immediately be made in the carriage. Two merino mattresses seem to belong to the bed. Beneath the compartments for the maps is the room for the *necessaire*, which shall be described afterwards; and under the seat the room for the liquor-case. On one of the doors of the carriage, two pistol-holsters were discovered, in which two rifled pistols, of the manufactory of Versailles, were found ; and in a holster close to the seat, a double-barrelled pistol was found too. Both these pistols were found loaded.

“ The seat is divided by a separation, so that the aid-de-camp sitting in the carriage with the ex-emperor, was never to touch the person of his haughty master. In the back of the coach there is a lantern with a *reverbere*, and a pipe, with a spring before it, to put wax tapers into, of which the victors found a great many in the coach. There are four lamps on the corners of the carriage.

“ The four horses are of a brown colour, pretty stout Normans. The harness is very little worthy of an imperial equipage, and is but to be recognised

Description of Bonaparte's carriage.

as belonging to it by the bees, which are to be seen at several places.

“The two articles which were found in the carriage most worthy of a more accurate description, are the *necessaire* and the liquor-case of the ex-emperor. The former is an elegant mahogany box, like the English writing-desks, and has the imperial arms most beautifully engraved on the cover; the whole contains a multitude of articles both of necessity and luxury, all made of silver, and strongly gilt; an elegant tooth-brush, razors of mother of-pearl, an elegant shaving-box, a small ink-stand and sand-box, a tea-pot, with the sugar-box in it, two elegant candlesticks, some small plates for breakfast, and even articles rarely to be met with in a *necessaire*; as, for instance, a gimlet is to be met with here. That the ex-emperor did not forget to make his toilet *comme il faut* is to be proved, by several bottles with eau de Cologne, eau de Lavande, salt, spirit, &c.; and though he endeavoured to exclude all the products of the English manufactories from France and the continent, he allowed himself some Windsor soap. All these several articles are arranged in so very compact a manner, and in the limits of a box hardly 1 1-4 feet by 8 inches, that it will excite the admiration of every observer.

“The liquor-case, made of mahogany, like the *necessaire*, contained two bottles, one of them filled with rum, the other with sweet wine, now quite evaporated. There are besides to be found in it, a pepper and salt-box, with the contents, a mustard-

Official Spanish account of the battle.

box, and an oblong case for sandwiches, all of gilt silver; some silver knives, forks, and spoons, and some silver breakfast-plates. In a small compartment of the case there was found a musket-ball, reduced to the form of a thin lead medal; perhaps a ball by which one of his favourites was killed, or which had missed himself, and had been found in his clothes.”*



CHAPTER VII.

Spanish account of the battle—Description of Brussels—Dutch account—Anecdote of the Prince of Orange—Hanoverian account—Russian account—Anecdotes from Simpson’s Visit to the Field of Waterloo, &c. &c.



SPANISH ACCOUNT.

Supplement to the Madrid Gazette of Thursday, 13th July, 1815.

LIEUTENANT General of the Royal Armies, Don Miguel de Alava, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty in Holland, addressed to his Excellency, Don Pedro Cevallos, First Secretary of State to Ferdinand VII. the following letter :

* Besides this carriage, it seems that seven other state carriages were taken, among which is the magnificent state coach, in which he intended to make his entry into Brussels, drawn by eight cream-coloured stallions; there were taken besides, eighty Arabian horses, all his baggage, diamonds, treasures, &c. &c. The travelling library taken, consisted of near 800 volumes.

Spanish Official account.

Most Excellent Sir,

The short space of time that has intervened between the departure of the last post and the victory of the 18th, has not allowed me to write to your Excellency so diffusely as I could have wished; and although the army is, at this moment, on the point of marching, and I also am going to set out for the Hague, to deliver my credentials, which I did not receive till this morning; nevertheless, I will give your Excellency some details respecting this important event, which, possibly, may bring us to the end of the war much sooner than we had any reason to expect.

I informed your Excellency, under date of the 16th instant, that Bonaparte, marching from Maubeuge and Philippeville, had attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and that, after driving them from Charleroi, he had entered that city on the 15th.

On the 16th, the Duke of Wellington ordered his army to assemble on the point of Quatre Bras, where the roads cross from Namur to Nivelles, and from Brussels* to Charleroi; and he himself proceeded to the same point at seven in the morning.

* Brussels is the capital of the Netherlands, and, before its occupation by the French, was the seat of government of the Austrian low countries. It has many magnificent squares, public buildings, walks, and fountains. The hotel de ville, in the grand market-place, is a remarkable structure; the turret is three hundred and sixty-four feet in height, and on the top is the figure of St. Michael, of copper-gilt, seventeen feet high, which turns to

Spanish account of the battle.

On his arrival, he found the hereditary Prince of Orange, with a division of his own army, holding the enemy in check, till the other divisions of the army were collected.

By this time, the British division, under General Picton, had arrived, with which the Duke kept up an unequal contest with more than 30,000 of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground. The British Guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scots brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and Lord Wellington told me, on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better, during the number of years he had commanded them.

The French cuirassiers likewise suffered much on their part; for, confiding in their breastplates, they approached the British squares so near, that they killed officers of the 42nd regiment with their swords; but those valiant men, without flinching, kept up so strong a fire, that the whole ground was covered with cuirassiers and their horses.

In the mean time, the troops kept coming up;

the wind. Brussels is celebrated for its fine lace, camlets, and tapestry. It was bombarded by Marshal Villeroy, in 1695, by which fourteen churches and four thousand houses were destroyed, and has been several times taken since. In 1794, the French, under General Dumourier, conquered the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, when this city also fell into his hands. It is seated partly on an eminence, and partly on the river Senne, twenty-two miles south of Antwerp, and one hundred and forty-eight north by east of Paris.

Spanish account of the battle.

and the night put an end to the contest in this quarter.

During this time, Bonaparte was fighting, with the remainder of his forces, against Marshal Blucher, with whom he had commenced a bloody action at five in the afternoon; from which time, till nine in the evening, he was constantly repulsed by the Prussians, with great loss on both sides. But, at that moment, he made his cavalry charge with so much vigour, that they broke the Prussian line of infantry, and introduced disorder and confusion throughout.

Whether it was that Bonaparte did not perceive this incident, or that he had experienced a great loss; or, what is more probable, that Marshal Blucher had re-established the battle, the fact is, that he derived no advantage whatever from this accident, and that he left him quiet during the whole of the night of the 16th.

Lord Wellington, who, by the morning of the 17th, had collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras, was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a dispatch from Marshal Blucher, participating to him the events of the preceding day, together with the incident that had snatched the victory out of his hands; adding, that the loss he had experienced was of such a nature, that he was forced to retreat to Wavre, on our left, where the corps of Bulow would unite with him, and that on the 19th, he would be ready for any thing he might wish to undertake.

Spanish account.—Skill and bravery of the British.

In consequence of this, Lord Wellington was obliged immediately to retreat, and this he effected in such a manner, that the enemy did not dare to interrupt him in it. He took up a position on Brainle-Leud, in front of the great wood of Soignies, as he had previously determined, and placed his headquarters in Waterloo.

I joined the army on that morning, though I had received no orders to that effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his Majesty, and at the same time fulfil your Excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs who commanded on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

The position occupied by his lordship was very good: but towards the centre, it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the General-in-chief. These qualifications were, however, to be found in abundance in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and, it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them both belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day.

On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of

Spanish account of the battle.

which Lord Wellington quickly perceived, because, without it, the position could not be attacked on that side, and it might therefore be considered as its key.

The Duke confided this important point to three companies of the English Guards under the command of Lord Saltoun, and laboured, during the night of the 17th, in fortifying it as well as possible, covering its garden, and a wood which served as its park, with Nassau troops, as sharp-shooters.

At half-past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the Imperial Guard. Here was Bonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking desperately with one of his corps, and with his usual shouts, the country-house on the right.

The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it most desperately, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded on the spot.—Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased, for the present, on this side.

Spanish account.—Effects of British valour.

The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than 200 pieces, under cover of which Bonaparte made a general attack, from the centre to the right, with infantry and cavalry, in such numbers, that it required all the skill of his lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter to resist the attack.

General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

The English Life Guards then charged with the greatest vigour, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their respective eagles in this charge, together with from 2 to 3000 prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the Life Gaards, and thus save their infantry, but the Guards received them with the greatest valour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight, perhaps ever witnessed, was the consequence.

The French cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had nothing of the sort, and lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry, called the Royals.

About this time, accounts came that the Prussian corps of Bulow had arrived at St. Lambert, and that Prince Blucher, with the other, under the command of General Thielmann (Ziethen,) was advancing.

Spanish account.—Arrival of the Prussians.

ing, with all haste, to take part in the combat, leaving the other two in Wavre, which had suffered so much in the battle of the 16th, in Fleurus. The arrival of these troops was so much the more necessary, in consequence of the forces of the enemy being more than triple, and our loss having been horrid during an unequal combat, from half-past eleven in the morning, till five in the afternoon.

Bonaparte, who did not believe them to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying Lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that, in the critical position in which he would soon be placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the English position, and thus, if possible, beat the Duke before his right was turned, and attacked by the Prussians.

Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry, and infantry, supported by more than 300 pieces of artillery, which unfortunately made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position.

The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the Duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were

Spanish account.—Bonaparte's last effort.

unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

At last, about seven in the evening, Bonaparte made a last effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it; and, for a moment, the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful.

The Duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which every great man possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

Fortunately, at this moment he perceived the fire of Marshal Blucher, who was attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the Duke put himself at the head of the English foot guards, spoke a few words to them, which were replied to by a general hurrah, and his Grace himself leading them on with his hat, they marched at the point of the bayonet, to come to close action with the Imperial Guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into flight, and the most complete rout ever witnessed by military men. Entire columns, throwing down their arms and cartouch-boxes, in order to escape the better, abandoned the spot on which they had been formed, where we took possession of 150 pieces of cannon. The rout at

Spanish account.—Complete rout of the enemy.

Vittoria was not comparable to this, and it only resembles it, inasmuch as, on both occasions, they lost all the train of artillery and stores of the army, as well as all the baggage.

The Duke followed the enemy as far as Genappe, where he found the respectable Blucher, and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the royal road of Charleroi; but finding himself in the same point as the Prussians, and that his army stood in need of rest after so dreadful a struggle, he left to Blucher the charge of following up the enemy, who swore that he would not leave them a moment of rest. This he is now doing, and yesterday at noon he had reached Charleroi, from whence, at night, he intended to proceed on after them.

This is, in substance, what has happened on this memorable day; but the consequences of this event are too visible for me to detain myself in stating them.

Bonaparte, now tottering on his usurped throne, without money and without troops to recruit his armies, has received so mortal a blow, that, according to the report of the prisoners, no other resource is left him, "than to cut his own throat."

For this reason, they say, they never saw him expose his person so much, and that he seemed to seek death, in order not to survive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences to him.

I told your Excellency, under date of the 16th, that his manœuvre appeared to me extremely daring before such generals as Blucher and the Duke; the

Spanish account.—Bonaparte's military character lost.

event has fully justified my prediction. For this reason, I conceive, that his executing it has arisen from nothing else than desperation, at the appearance of the enormous troops about to attack him on all quarters of France, and in order to give one of his customary blows before the Russians and Austrians came up.

His military reputation is lost for ever; and, on this occasion, there is no treason on the part of the allies, nor bridges blown up before their time, on which to throw the blame; all the shame will fall upon himself.

Numerical superiority, superiority of artillery, all was in his favour; and his having commenced the attack, proves that he had sufficient means to execute it.

In short, this talisman, which, like a charm, had enchanted French military men, has been dashed to pieces on this occasion. Bonaparte has for ever lost his reputation of being invincible; and, henceforward, this reputation will be preserved by an honourable man, who, far from employing this glorious title in disturbing and enslaving Europe, will convert it into an instrument of her felicity, and in procuring for her that peace she so much requires.

The loss of the British is horrid; and of those who were by the side of the Duke, he and myself alone remained untouched in our persons and horses.

The Duke of Brunswick was killed on the 16th,

Spanish account.—Gallantry of officers noticed.

and the Prince of Orange and his cousin the Prince of Nassau, aid-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, received two balls. The Prince of Orange distinguished himself extremely; but, unfortunately, although his wound is not dangerous, it will deprive the army of his important services for some time, and possibly he may lose the use of his left arm.

Lord Uxbridge, general of cavalry, received a wound at the close of the action, which made the amputation of his right leg necessary; an irreparable loss, for it would be difficult to find another chief to lead on the cavalry, with the same courage and skill.

The Duke was unable to refrain from shedding tears, on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions; and nothing but the importance of the triumph can compensate so considerable a loss.

This morning he has proceeded on to Nivelles, and to-morrow he will advance to Mons, from whence he will immediately enter France. The opportunity cannot be better.

I cannot close this dispatch, without stating to your Excellency, for the information of his Majesty, that Captain Don Nicholas de Minuissir, of Doyle's regiment, and of whom I before spoke to your Excellency, as well as of his destination in the army, conducted himself yesterday with the greatest valour and steadiness; having been wounded when

Dutch account of the battle.

the Nassau troops were driven from the garden, he rallied them, and made them return to their post. During the action, he had a horse wounded under him; and by his former conduct, as well as by that of this day, he is worthy of receiving from his Majesty a proof of his satisfaction.

This officer is well known at the war-office, as well as to General Don Josef de Zayas, who has duly appreciated his merits.

God preserve your Excellency many years, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL DE ALAVA.

Brussels, June 20, 1815.

To his Excellency, Don Pedro Cevallos, &c.

P. S.—The number of prisoners cannot be stated, for they are bringing in great numbers every moment. There are many generals among the prisoners; among whom are the Count de Lobau, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, and Cambrone, who accompanied him to Elba.



DUTCH ACCOUNT.

Reports of William Prince of Orange, to his Majesty, the King of the Netherlands.

Head-quarters, Nivelles, 17th June, 1815, 2 in the morn.

Early on the morning of the 15th, the Prussian army was attacked in its position, which it abandoned, and retired from Charleroi, by Gosselies, as far as the environs of Fleurus. As soon as I was apprised of this attack. I gave the necessary

Dutch account.—Operations of the Prince of Orange.

orders to the corps of troops under my command. In consequence, the battalion of Orange Nassau, which together with a battery of light artillery, occupied the village of Frasne, were attacked at five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. These troops maintained themselves in their position on the height of this village, and at a short distance from the road, called Quatre Bras. The skirmishing ceased, upon this point, at eight o'clock in the evening.

As soon as I was informed of this attack, I gave orders for the third division, as well as to two English divisions, to move upon Nivelles; and to the second to maintain the position of Quatre Bras. Only a part of the second division was enabled to move thither immediately, in consequence of the brigade, under the orders of Major General Byland, not being able to leave Nivelles, prior to the arrival of other troops at that place.

The firing of the tirailleurs commenced at five o'clock yesterday morning, on this point, and was kept up on both sides until mid-day, without any result. About two o'clock the attack became much more severe, especially on the part of the cavalry and artillery. The brigade of light cavalry, under the command of General Van Merlen, was not able to come up before four o'clock; previous to which time I had no cavalry to oppose to the enemy. Seeing of how great importance it was to preserve the position on the heights of the road, called Quatre Bras, I was fortunate in maintaining

Dutch account.—Bivouacking delineated.

them against an enemy who, in every respect, was superior to me in forces.

Having been attacked by the two corps d'armee, commanded by Generals D'Erlon and Reille, and having succeeded in checking them, the Duke of Wellington had time enough to assemble a sufficient force to foil the projects of the enemy. The result of this attack has been, that after a very obstinate contest which lasted till nine o'clock in the evening, we not only checked the enemy, but even repulsed him. The Prussian army, which was also attacked yesterday, maintained its principal position; and there is no doubt, but that Napoleon, with very considerable forces, directed an attack upon the whole line.

Our troops bivouacked* upon the field of battle,

* The following explanation of the term, is extracted from the letter of an officer to his friends, written during the Spanish campaign.—“Bivouacking and vagabondyzing are synonymous—the tinker under the hedge bivouacks.—Observe the gipsies' camp, and you see our mode of life in perfection, and suppose each division one family—four or five thousand men huddled together—the men in columns or divisions, and their officers wherever the choice of a spot leads them; the tent (*if they have one*) is pitched, and the servants proceed to get forage and provision; in half an hour various colonies are formed. As for provisions, beef is given out and bread. A butcher sells mutton, wine, and a few other articles: but the soldier is exposed to wet and cold; no covering but a blanket—they nestle together for warmth; and, if wet, the poor fellows are sadly off; they have abundance to eat and drink no doubt, and they hesitate not to help themselves whenever they can, unobserved by the provost marshal.”

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Dutch account.—Position of the armies.  
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whither I shall immediately proceed, in expectation of the probability that Napoleon will endeavour this day, to execute the project of yesterday.—The Duke of Wellington has concentrated, upon this point, as many troops as he was able to collect.

I experience a lively pleasure in being able to announce to your Majesty, that your troops, and the infantry and artillery in particular, fought with great courage.

Circumstances having prevented my receiving the reports from the different corps, concerning their loss, I am unable to acquaint you with it: but I shall have the honour of doing so as soon as possible.

(Signed) WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

Brussels, June 22, 1815.

After the battle of the 16th, (of which I had the honour of giving an account to your Majesty, on the 17th, at two in the morning, from the headquarters at Nivelles,) the Duke of Wellington keeping his line with the Prussian army, in the morning made a movement, the result of which was, that the army found itself in position upon the heights in front of Waterloo, where it bivouacked; the enemy's cavalry, which followed the movements of the army, was, in different attacks, repulsed with loss by the British cavalry.

On the 18th, at day-break, we discovered the enemy in our front: at ten o'clock he showed a dis-

Dutch account.—Furious attacks.

position to attack. The army of Bonaparte was composed of the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, the Imperial Guards, and nearly the whole of his cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of many hundred pieces of cannon. About eleven o'clock the enemy unmasked a small battery, under the cover of the fire of which his tirailleurs advanced against our right wing, and, immediately after, his attack was directed against a farm surrounded with copse wood, which was situate a short way in front of this wing, and on the left of the road leading to Nivelles. The enemy made the most furious, but fruitless attacks to possess himself of this farm. At noon, the cannonade became violent; and before half-past twelve, the battle was extended along the whole line. The French repeatedly attacked our two wings; but as their principal object was to pierce the right of our centre, they employed all their means to accomplish it. Some columns of the enemy's cavalry advanced boldly against us: but, notwithstanding the inconceivable violence with which they renewed their attacks, from three o'clock in the afternoon until the end of the battle, they never succeeded in making our line waver.—The enemy was constantly repulsed, as well from the fire of the squares as by the charges of our cavalry; it is impossible to depict to your Majesty the fury with which they fought, especially during the last six hours.

I was unfortunate in not being able to see the end of this glorious and important battle, having re-

Dutch account.—Anecdotes of the Prince of Orange.

ceived, half an hour before the defeat of the enemy, a ball through my left shoulder, which compelled me to quit the field of battle.*

It is with the most lively satisfaction that I am able to inform your Majesty, that your troops of all arms, have fought with the greatest courage. In the charges of cavalry, the brigade of carbiniers attracted particular notice. The division of Lieutenant General Chasse was not engaged until late: and, as I was not personally able to quit the centre, I had placed it, for the day, under the orders of General Lord Hill, commanding the second corps of the army. I have heard that this division, like-

* His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange,* hurried by ardour into the midst of the battle, was surrounded and taken by the French. The seventh battalion perceived the Prince's danger, hastened to his assistance, and succeeded in delivering him; his Royal Highness took off the insignia of his order, and threw it into the midst of the battalion, exclaiming: "Children, you have all deserved it!"—It was fastened to their colours on the field of battle, amid cries of "Long live the Hereditary Prince!" All the Belgians swore to defend, even to death, this mark of honour: and at this sublime moment, many of these brave men fell, while pronouncing this patriotic oath.

Towards the close of the day, when he saw the lines were bending, he was at the head of his people, cheering and exciting them amidst the hottest fire, when his Royal Highness received a musket-ball in his left arm, which lodged in his shoulder.

* An eye-witness, who was travelling on the French frontiers, June 16th, personally witnessed the active exertions of the Prince of Orange, in collecting the forces, and giving notice to the distant corps of the commencement of hostilities. EDITOR.

Dutch account.—Notices of gallantry.

wise, conducted itself with much bravery, and that Lieutenant General Chasse, as also the two commanders of brigades, very satisfactorily acquitted themselves of their duty.

I cannot, at this moment, make any detail to your Majesty of the loss we have sustained, not having received the returns. I am obliged, nevertheless, with the most profound regret, to state, that it is considerable.

The Generals of division have requested me to speak of those who have particularly distinguished themselves; and I feel it a duty to name those to your Majesty of whose conduct I was myself an eye-witness, viz.—

The Lieutenant Generals Collaert and De Perponcher; the first is wounded. The brave and experienced officer, Major General Van Merlen, died of his wounds upon the field of battle. I take this opportunity of recommending his widow and children to your Majesty's kind consideration. Major General Trip distinguished himself as much by his intelligence as his gallantry. Major General Ghigny. The commanders of the three regiments of carbiniers, Lieutenant Colonel Coenegracht, dead of his wounds, Colonel De Bruyn, and Lieutenant Colonel Lechleitner. Lieutenant Colonel Wesenberg, commanding the battalion of Militia, No. 5, who is a very excellent officer, conducted his battalion very ably, and behaved extremely well in the battle of the 16th. Major Hegman, of the third battalion of Nassau, wounded. Majors

Dutch account.—Loss of the Dutch.

Merex and De Bryas, of the carbiniers, No. 2, the last wounded. Major de la Sarraz, of the artillery. Major General De Constant Rebecque, Quarter-Master General, performed his duty with the greatest credit, and rendered great services. I have yet to bear testimony to your Majesty, of my satisfaction of the conduct of my Adjutants-Major, Van Limburg Stirum, wounded on the 16th, and on the 18th Colonel de Caylar and Major Ampt had each a horse shot under them ; and Lieutenant Col. Cruquenbourg had two.

I have charged my Adjutant, Van Hooft, to transmit this report to your Majesty. I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable consideration.

(Signed) WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

LOSS OF THE DUTCH.

Officers killed or missing	-	-	-	-	27
Wounded	-	-	-	-	115
Rank and file killed or missing	-	-	-	-	2058
Wounded	-	-	-	-	1936
Total	-	-	-	-	4136
Horses killed	-	-	-	-	1630

DUTCH ORDER OF THE DAY.

“ Brussels, June 27.

“ His Majesty, informed by my reports of the glorious victories to which you have contributed, with so much bravery and fidelity, has charged me

Dutch account.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

with the commission equally agreeable and flattering to my heart, to testify to you, my fellow-citizens, his entire satisfaction with your conduct in the several actions that have taken place. I cannot give you, brave warriors of the Netherlands, a stronger proof of the approbation of our beloved and august Sovereign, than by making you acquainted with the tenor of the letter which his Majesty has addressed to me, and which is conceived in these terms:—

“ *The Hague, June 24.*

“ Your reports of the 17th and 22nd inst. have given me inexpressible satisfaction.

“ As a sovereign and a father I doubly feel the joy which the happy result of so many obstinate combats has generally excited, for I have the certainty that my troops have had a glorious share in them, and have seen, in the Son of their Prince, a brave example of the most dangerous duties they have to perform.

MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

Affecting Story.

The following affecting story is related by the author of a “Visit to the Field of Waterloo,” whose authority we shall often have recourse to, which, though it be less tragical than many other real facts, serves to show the anxieties, inconveniences, and dangers, that awaited those who felt interested in the issue of the engagement, and whom necessity or choice had drawn near the scene of action. He says,

“ I had the good fortune to travel from Brussels to Paris, with a young Irish officer and his wife, an Antwerp lady of only sixteen; of great beauty, and with manners of much innocence and *naïvete*.

Dutch Account.—Miscellaneous Anecdotes.

“ I desire that you will acquaint, with my complete satisfaction, all the brave warriors of the Netherlands, who fought under your command at Quatre Bras, and at La Belle Alliance. Tell them, that all their fellow-countrymen have their eyes fixed on them with admiration and gratitude, and are proud of the firmness and courage which they have displayed. Let them know, that the blood they have shed, has irrevocably effaced the last doubt that might have subsisted on the solidity of this new kingdom, and the union of its inhabitants. Assure them, that they shall always have in me a true friend of their noble profession, and a protector of valour and all military merit.

“ Do you yourself find the reward of your devotion, and an alleviation of your wounds, in the honour of being to the brave warriors of the Netherlands, the organ of the sentiments consecrated to them by their king and country.

(Signed)

“ WILLIAM.”

The officer had been in the battle of Quatre Bras, as well as of Waterloo; and to him I owe much of my minutest and most interesting information. An anecdote of his fair Belgian, which he justly took some pride in relating, will further serve to give an idea of the kind of scenes then occurring, the horrors and the dangers of which it is so difficult to describe—he was living in cantonments at Nivelles, having his wife with him. The unexpected advance of the French called him off at a moment's notice to Quatre Bras; but he left with his wife his servant, one horse, and the family baggage, which was packed upon a large ass.—Retreat at the time was not anticipated; but being suddenly

Hanoverian account of the battle.—Anecdotes.

“ Continue then, my countrymen, to walk in the path of honour: your king acknowledges your services, and the country honours you. As for me, I feel my wounds only because they keep me for a time at a distance from you. My most ardent desire is to join you, again to combat the common enemy, and bravely to lavish our blood and our lives for the king and country.

(Signed) “ WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.”



HANOVERIAN ACCOUNT.

Extract from a Report of Lieut. Gen. Charles Von Alten, to his Royal Highness Field Marshal and Governor General the Duke of Cambridge, dated Brussels, June 20, 1815.

On the evening of the 15th, the troops broke up from their cantonments, which were very widely separated. The Duke of Wellington concentrated the troops in the environs of Brussels, at Genappe.

ordered on the Saturday morning, he contrived to get a message to his wife, to make the best of her way, attended by the servant, to Brussels. The servant, a foreigner, has availed himself of the opportunity to take leave of both master and mistress, and made off with the horse, which had been left for the use of the latter. With a firmness becoming the wife of a British officer, she boldly commenced on foot *her own* retreat of 25 miles, leading the ass, and carefully preserving the baggage. No violence was dared by any one to so innocent a pilgrim, but no one could afford to assist her. She was soon in the midst of the columns of the retreating British army, and much retarded and endangered by the artillery.

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

The Hereditary Prince of Orange, under whose command my division was, advanced to Quatre Bras, where the roads from Mons to Namur, and from Brussels to Charleroi, intersect each other.—The French had divided their army and attacked the Prussians, the Duke of Wellington, and our corps, at one and the same time. The Hereditary Prince posted us between Quatre Bras and Sart a Maveline in such a manner that the right wing occupied the former, and the left the latter village. The troops marched up, under a most violent cannonade from the enemy. A wood on the right of Quatre Bras, was alternately taken on our part and by the French. The cannonade on both sides was extremely brisk. The enemy repeatedly attempted to force our left wing: I detached the field battalion of Luneburg to drive him out of the village of Pierremont in our front. Lieut. Colonel Klenke executed this commission with great intrepidity, took the village, and maintained it against the reite-

Her fatigue was great; it rained in water-spouts, and the thunder and lightning were dreadful in the extreme. She continued to advance, and got upon the great road from Charleroi to Brussels at Waterloo, when the army on the Saturday evening were taking up their line for the awful conflict. In so extensive a field, and among 80,000 men, it was in vain to seek her husband: she knew that the sight of her *there* would only have embarrassed and distressed him; she kept slowly advancing to Brussels all the Saturday night, the road choked with all sorts of conveyances, wagons, and horses; multitudes of native fugitives on the road, and flying into the great wood; and many of the wounded working their

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

rated attacks of the enemy. Upon this the enemy's infantry advanced in several columns, against which I detached the field battalions of Grubenhagen, Osnabruck, and Bremen. With the assistance of the artillery of the German Legion, under Captain Cleves, the troops repulsed the enemy. On the right wing the enemy's cavalry attempted to make several attacks, but by the gallantry of the troops, prevented it from breaking through them. On this occasion, the battalion of the Landwehr of Luneburg, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Von Ramdohr, particularly distinguished itself. It suffered the enemy's cavalry to approach to the distance of thirty paces, and then received it with a volley, by which it was repulsed with great loss.—We were so fortunate as to maintain our position; but, as the Prussian army, on our left wing, had sustained a considerable check, we were obliged to fall back, on the 17th, upon Genappe, in which movement my division formed the rear-guard. As

painful way, dropping at every step, and breathing their last.—Many persons were actually thrown down by others, if by chance they stood in the way of their endeavours to save themselves. And to add to the horrors, the rain continued unabated, and the thunder and lightning still raged as if the heavens were torn to pieces. Full twelve miles further in the night this young woman marched, up to her knees in mud, her boots worn entirely off, so that she was barefooted; but still unhurt, she continued to advance: and although thousands lost their baggage, and many their lives, she calmly entered Brussels in the morning in safety, and without the loss of an article. In a few hours after her arrival,

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

the enemy appeared, in the afternoon, in very great force, we retreated to Mont St. Jean, on the road to Brussels. Here the whole army of the Duke of Wellington had assembled, and it took a position on the heights in front of this village, so that the left wing was supported upon the village of Frichermont, and the right on the chaussee from Brussels to Nivelles. The chaussee from Genappe to Brussels intersected the centre of the army, which was formed by my division. I sent the second light battalion of the King's German Legion, under Major Baring, to occupy the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, situate just before the left wing of my division. A company of Hanoverian Yagers, and two light companies of the English Guards, were thrown into the farm-house of Hougomont and the small wood before it, in front of the right wing.

The infantry of the corps of His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, to which my division belonged, was marched up in columns *en echiquier*, the battalions being placed two and two beside one

commenced the cannon's roar of the tremendous Sunday; exposed to which, for ten hours, she knew her husband to be; and after a day and night of agony, she was amply rewarded by finding herself in his arms, he unhurt, and she nothing the worse on the Monday. The officer told me the tale with tears in his eyes. He called her his "dear little woman," and said she became more valuable to him every day. I never saw a more elegant gentleman-like young man; and assuredly his pretty Belgian seemed almost to adore him. It gave additional value to the foregoing anecdote, that I had it from the actors in the scene described."

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

another, in such a manner that they might immediately deploy or form into squares. Between the columns there was a sufficient space for the passage of the cavalry and artillery stationed behind the squares. The corps of General Lord Hill was posted in reserve at Braine La Leud, and, at the same time, covered the chaussee from Nivelles to Brussels. Beyond this chaussee there was some cavalry for the purpose of watching the motions of the enemy.

About one o'clock, the enemy sent his tirailleurs upon the wood in front of our right wing, where a smart engagement ensued. This post was of great importance to us, as the enemy would have gained, in its possession, a height which would have endangered our right flank. He caused strong columns of infantry, supported by artillery, to advance successively upon this post, the maintenance of which was committed to the British Guards, who defended it with undaunted gallantry.

The battle became general upon the whole line.

General Labedoyere in Brussels.

In the disguise of a Belgian officer he came into Brussels late on the 15th, when dark, with one or two others, who were Belgians, and in the pay of Bonaparte. They went with an intention of observing the movements of the Duke; but the Duke going to the ball, was well attended by officers, and he actually seeing Labedoyere (who was the Adonis of Paris,) walked up to him, and shook hands with him, thinking him a Belgian officer, praised his alacrity, and said, "We shall soon have sharp work—I am glad to see you—I hope all will imitate so good an example."

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

The enemy brought up against us a numerous artillery, under cover of which a column of several thousand men pushed on upon the chaussee of Genappe, but it was repulsed by the two light battalions and the 8th battalion of the line of the King's German Legion, and the field battalion of Luneburg. Behind this column the enemy's cavalry advanced with such impetuosity, as to overthrow the infantry acting *en debandage*, and to penetrate to the hill among the squares posted *en echiquier*. The troops remained immoveable, till the English cavalry came up and repulsed the enemy; the squares most exposed on this occasion, were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Von Wurmb and Major Von Schkopp, Lieutenant Colonel Von Langrehr had already been brought wounded to the rear. The fire of the enemy's artillery now became brisker, and it was kept up on both sides with a vehemence, such as few of the oldest soldiers had, perhaps, ever witnessed. The attacks of the enemy's infantry and cavalry were several times repeated, and in

Women in the Field of Battle.

Several Belgian women followed their husbands mounted on horseback, and they encouraged the soldier to exert his utmost; and one heroine in particular, from Brussels, after attending to the wound of her husband, advanced again to the field of action, and was foremost in danger, until she received herself an honourable wound on the shoulder. After the battle several were found dead, one in particular with a child at her breast, who had brought refreshments to the field, and was struck by a cannon shot, the child being found by her side.

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

different quarters. Bonaparte was determined to break through the centre, and thus to open for himself the way to Brussels. One column was repulsed by Colonel Von Ompteda, who put himself at the head of his battalion. Meanwhile the enemy kept advancing nearer, and continually bringing up fresh troops. His artillery played upon our squares at the distance of 150 paces. Not one of them gave way; the dead were pushed aside, and the ranks filled up again. Several went to meet the enemy's cavalry, and by their heavy fire compelled it to retreat. At length, some of them, which were almost entirely cut in pieces, fell back; they retreated, however, in good order, and immediately advanced again when they were ordered. The Duke of Wellington was a constant eye-witness of their conduct. This hero was always at that point where the danger was the greatest; and the Prince of Orange displayed a courage worthy of his illustrious ancestors. It was his corps, against which

Enthusiasm of the French Army.

The charges were all made with the acclamations of "Vive l'Empereur!" and the wounded soldiers were heard uttering the same cry, and dying with that expression in their mouths. In operations they all shouted out "Vive l'Empereur!" and rejoiced at losing any part of their body for their commander, whom they had followed in so many battles, and by whom they had been so often led on to victory. Frenetic zeal for the emperor, in these poor creatures, seemed to increase with their sufferings. One man was pointed out, who had tossed his amputated arm in the air, with a feeble shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" Another, at

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

the main force of the enemy, led on by Bonaparte in person, was directed. At this critical moment, the Prussian General Von Bulow, who had hastened to our assistance with 30,000 men, attacked the enemy in his flank. The victory was ours; the enemy fled in all directions, leaving behind the greatest part of his artillery. About 200 pieces of cannon and several eagles have been taken. The number of prisoners brought in cannot be accurately stated, but it amounts to many thousands.

These two days have, indeed, cost us much; and, with the deepest regret, I have to inform your Royal Highness, that the greatest part of our most distinguished officers have fallen. Among these I reckon particularly, Colonels Von Ompteda, and Du Plat, and Lieutenant Colonels Von Wurmb and Von Langrehr. We have, to be sure, this consolation, that these men have covered their graves with glory, and that the Hanoverians have established their reputation for valour. As an eye-

the moment of the preparations to take off his leg, declared, that there was something he knew of which would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the operator's trouble. When asked to explain this strange remark, he said, "a sight of the Emperor!" The indispensable amputation did not save him; he died in the surgeon's hands; and his last words, steadfastly looking on his own blood, were, that, "he would cheerfully shed the last drop in his veins for the great Napoleon!" A singularly wild, and almost poetic fancy, was the form in which a third bore his testimony: he was undergoing, with great firmness, the operation of the extraction of a ball from his side; and it happened

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

witness, indeed, I can only bear testimony concerning the field battalions of Bremen, Luneburg, Verden, Grubenhagen, and the Duke of York, belonging to my division, and affirm, that they have rendered themselves worthy of being recorded in the annals of our army; but a highly favourable report has also been made to me of some of the brigades of the Landwehr, which were in the engagement. Colonel Halkett bestows particular praise on the battalion of Osnabruck. Of our cavalry, the Duke of Cumberland's regiment only was present at the conflict, but was not advanced to the attack. It was for some time much exposed to the fire of the artillery, by which it sustained considerable loss.

Though every officer and soldier, whom I had an opportunity of observing, has done his duty, still I feel it incumbent upon me to make particular mention of some of them who pre-eminently signalized themselves on these arduous days; and I venture to hope, that your Royal Highness, as you

to be the left; in the moment of his greatest suffering, he exclaimed, "an inch deeper, and you'll find the emperor!" Had Bonaparte merited such heroic devotion; or had his cause been as good as it was profligate, what a sublimity would have attended these singular effusions!

Scotch soldiers much esteemed in the Netherlands.

In Antwerp much was said of the Highlanders. A gentleman whom I saw, says the narrator before alluded to, had, when the wounded arrived, been recognised and spoken to by a poor Highlander. The circumstance absolutely gave him a kind of consideration in the crowd; he felt prouder at the moment than if a prince

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

are so disposed to reward merit, will confer on them marks of your satisfaction and approbation, than which, nothing is for them a more powerful stimulus.

Major General Count Von Kielmansegge gave the most brilliant example of courage and intrepidity to his brigade, and constantly supported me with all his might.

The conduct of Lieut. Colonels Von Klencke, Von Wurmb, and Von Langrehr, of Majors Von Schkopp, Von Bulow, and Von Stockhausen, deserves the highest praise. According to report received from Colonel Halkett, I think I may, with justice, recommend Major Count Munster also to your Royal Highness. He fought with the battalion of Osnabruck Landwehr against Napoleon's guards, and overthrew them.

I am not less grateful to the officers of my staff, and especially to Colonel Von Berger, as chief of the *etat-major*, who never quitted my side on the 16th and 18th, and who, by his counsel and exer-

had smiled upon him. At Brussels, and wherever I went in the Netherlands, when the English troops were mentioned, whom they likewise much admired, the natives always returned to the Scotch, with "*Mais les Ecossais*," (but the Scotch) they are good and kind as well as brave; they are the only soldiers who become "*enfants de la famille*;" (members of the family) in the houses in which they are billeted; they even carry about the children, and do the domestic work. The favourite proverbial form of compliment was, "*Les Ecossais sont lions dans la bataille, et agneaux dans la maison*;" (lions in the field, and lambs in the house).—There was a competition among the inhabitants who should have

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

tions, rendered me the greatest service. The meritorious talents of this officer are known to your Royal Highness: and, severely wounded as I was, I should not have been able to retain the chief command of the Hanoverian troops, had not Colonel Berger's contusion permitted him to perform its principal duties.

On Major Heise, of the King's German Legion, whom your Royal Highness assigned to me as Military Secretary, I must bestow the deserved encomium, that he evinced on these two days a zeal and activity which reflect upon him the highest honour.

Majors Kunze and Von Schlutter, who had no specific spheres of action, as I had only the command of the division, nevertheless seized every opportunity to afford me assistance, and therefore I cannot pass them by unnoticed in this report.

Lieutenant Count Von Kielmansegge was, likewise, very serviceable to me. It is, as yet, impossi-

them in their houses; and when they returned wounded, the same house they had left had its doors open, and the family went out some miles to meet "*Notre Ecossais*,"* (our own Scotsman.)

Alarm of the inhabitants of Brussels.

Sunday came, and the battle, about nine miles off, began to roar. It was described by the inhabitants of Brussels, as one uninterrupted peal of thunder in their ears for eight hours.

* On the Continent, the Highland regiments are always called *Scotch*, and not *Montagnards*, or *Highlanders*, which, unknown to the foreigners, is really their just appellation; for, as is well known, they are a mixture of Lowlanders and Highlanders.

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

ble for me to name all the officers who have distinguished themselves on these days, as I have not yet received the report of the brigadiers. I shall collect them, however, and send your Royal Highness an extract, that you may be made acquainted with them all, if possible. Thus, too, the lists of dead, wounded, and missing, had not yet been completed, because the army put itself in motion again immediately. I hope to be able to transmit them in a few days. The names of the killed shall shortly follow.

I have still to remark to your Royal Highness, that the wound which I received at the conclusion of the engagement, will not prevent me from retaining the command of the Hanoverians; if you shall be pleased to continue to entrust me with it under these circumstances. I hope, in a few weeks, to be completely recovered.

The official lists of officers killed, wounded, and missing, of the Hanoverian brigades of Count Kiel-

“ Then great events were in the gale,

“ And each hour brought a varying tale.”

But the fears of the inhabitants always made the French successful; and when the English baggage passed through Brussels, and crowded the road to Antwerp, the rumour was then believed, that the French had gained a complete victory. The entire population began now to fly; a satisfactory piece of evidence of no great attachment to the French. “ *Nous sommes perdus, nous sommes perdus,*” was the only cry to be heard among the inhabitants.—My friend resolved on flight on his lady’s account, and had the extraordinary fortune to reach Mechline, about 15 miles, unhurt.

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

mansegge and Colonel Halkett, and the battery under Captain Braun, only, have yet been received, and are subjoined.

Officers killed	-	-	-	-	-	9
Officers severely wounded	-	-	-	-	-	29
Officers slightly wounded	-	-	-	-	-	22
Officers missing	-	-	-	-	-	7
Total	-	-	-	-	-	67

A. VON BERGER,
Colonel and Chief of the General Staff.

*To his Excellency the Hanoverian Lieutenant
General, Sir Charles Alten.*

GEORGE, Prince Regent, acting for and in the name of his Majesty, our father George III. by the grace of God, King, &c. communicate to you, by these presents, our gracious intentions.

“ Noble, beloved, and loyal, if on the one hand we are deeply afflicted at the considerable loss

They got a place in the track-boat, on the canal; and, being close to the road, saw all its horrors. When horses fell, the wagon wheels crushed the riders; baggage was thrown off and carried away by the peasants, to be cut open and plundered.—Great sums of money were in this way lost; and clothes, and other property, spread over the fields. An English officer, who had lost a foot, and was carried on his servant's back, came and begged to be taken into the boat. He was known to my friend, who, although the passengers, intent on self-preservation, opposed it, by absolute force obtained his admission. At Mechline they found it very difficult to obtain admission into a house; and the

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

which our Hanoverian corps, confided to your orders, has suffered in the memorable battles of the 16th and 18th of last month, we have had reason, on the other hand, to feel peculiar satisfaction at learning the eulogiums which you bestow in your account, upon the distinguished courage and bravery of our valiant Hanoverians, a testimony upon which we set the higher value, as it comes from you, from a general who has combated in so many battles for his country and the good cause, and has constantly distinguished himself by his talents and his bravery.

“ It very sincerely afflicts us to see you among the number of those who are wounded; and it is, however, with pleasure that we perceive you were able to retain the command of your troops, and that you have the hope of being entirely recovered in a few weeks.

difficulty was increased, when the people were told that the lady was ill. Most providentially they procured a carriage to Antwerp next day.

Dreadful distress.

On their arrival at Antwerp, they heard an altercation between their coachman and a woman on the top, whom he had taken up, and would not let down till she paid a franc. They found this poor *detenue* to be the widow (newly so made) of a soldier killed at Quatre Bras; and the mother of a child which she had the day before seen crushed to death by a wagon wheel! Many of the wounded were travelling the same road; some had lost a hand or an arm; thousands were on foot; and all sorts of carriages and horses crowded the road and increased the danger. An officer's

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

“ We have been very glad at receiving, with your narration, the copy of the report which you made on the 20th of last month, to our beloved brother the Duke of Cambridge, upon the said battles, by which we have been perfectly informed of the plan of the battle, and of all the circumstances which have accompanied it. It will be the object of our particular solicitude to recompense all those who have gloriously distinguished themselves before the enemy, and we certainly shall not fail also to provide for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen fighting for their country. We wait, for this end, only for the proposals of our beloved brother the Duke of Cambridge, whom your further reports will soon enable to realize our intentions.

“ We charge you to express to the Hanoverian army under your command, our entire satisfaction with their good conduct in the said battles ; assur-

lady had just learned that her husband's head had been shot off at Quatre Bras. The poor lady was running about the market-place, hysterical and delirious, with a little boy crying and running after her. In her distraction, she often repeated, “ My husband is not dead, he is coming ; his head is not shot off.” The people did all they could to console her. The scene was beyond description horrible ; but a feeling of terror and self-preservation much diminished the concern for the sufferers. This is very common in the horrors of war. The persons trodden down or crushed to death, in the flight to Antwerp, were thrown into the ditches ; and all this was witnessed by my friend and his wife. The confusion was dreadful ; yet no one had seen a single Frenchman.

In the course of the Monday, the news of the defeat of the

Hanoverian account.—Anecdotes.

ing you, at the same time, that it is perfectly well known to me how much is to be ascribed to the talents and bravery with which you commanded them.

“ It is with sentiments of affection and favour,
&c. &c. (Signed)

“ GEORGE, Prince Regent.

“ Carlton House, July 7, 1815.”

After having given the general such a flattering mark of his esteem, His Royal Highness has deigned, by a later resolution, to confer upon him and his descendants the title of Count, as a recompense for his distinguished services in the war in Spain, and in the battle of Waterloo.

His Royal Highness has been further pleased to testify his high satisfaction with the Hanoverian troops who were present in this last battle, and to permit them to bear, like the English troops, on their colours, and on their uniforms, the word
“ WATERLOO.”

French arrived; and on the following day my friend and his wife returned to Brussels.

View of the field a few days after the battle.

On the Wednesday my friend visited the field of Waterloo.—His account of it is dreadful. The first thing which struck him at a distance, was the quantity of caps and hats strewed on the ground; it appeared as if the field had been covered with crows. When he came to the spot, the sight was truly shocking. At first, there was a great preponderance of British slain, which looked very ill: but more in advance, the revenge made itself dreadfully marked, for ten French lay dead for one British. The field was

Russian account of the battle.—Anecdotes.

RUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

Copy of a Letter from General Pozzo di Borgo, to his Excellency Prince Wolkonsky.

I have had the honour of giving your Excellency an account of the advantageous action which the Duke of Wellington had fought on the 4-16 of June, at the place called Les Quatres Bras. The movement of Prince Blucher having induced his Grace to remove his head-quarters to Waterloo, on the 5-17, he took a position in advance of that place, at the point where the great causeway from Brussels to Namur, crosses that which leads to Brain-la-Leud.

Though the ground is open, and without any remarkable feature, it rises almost insensibly upon this point, to the distance of half a league. At the right extremity of the front of this elevation, there is a farm, consisting of a stone house, of a surrounding wall, and of a wood intersected by natu-

so much covered with blood, that it appeared as if it had been completely flooded with it; dead horses seemed innumerable, and the peasantry employed in burying the dead, generally stript the bodies first. Of course these people got a vast booty, when they ventured out of the neighbouring wood after the battle; many of them made some hundred pounds. A great quantity of cap-plates, cuirasses, and other articles, were collected by them, and sold as relics. The mounds which marked where men and horses had been interred, were apparent every hundred yards. The sepulture had been hurried and imperfect, especially of the horses; hoofs and even limbs frequently appearing. Often bayo-

Russian account.—Anecdotes.

ral hedges and ditches. It was upon this ground that the Duke resolved to expect the enemy; he placed his batteries, occupied the farm and the garden, and drew up his army along the eminence, protected by its heights from the enemy's fire.

The army being composed of different troops, he took the precaution to support each of them by English infantry, all disposed in such a manner as to be able to succour the point threatened.

On the 6-18, towards noon, the French army, commanded by Bonaparte, began the attack; his first efforts were directed against the farm, of which I have made mention: after several attempts, he succeeded, at about half-past one o'clock, in dislodging a part of the troops from it. The Duke hastened to the spot, and ordered two battalions to retake it, and to defend themselves there to the last extremity. His orders were punctually executed.

The enemy then directed two strong columns

net-scabbards stuck out; and caps, shoes, and pieces of cloth, scarcely in the gloom distinguishable from the mud in which they lay, gave indication of the spots where many a soldier, after bleeding in the field, and toiling along the road to expected aid and comfort, unassisted, almost unpitied, by the self-engaged sufferers who saw him fall, had sunk to rise no more. Some rain fell as we were bestowing a passing survey upon these affecting monuments of the brave, in a situation the most dismal we had ever beheld.

Prussian Plunderers.

The scene was for a week exposed to another danger; Prussian stragglers committed frequent robberies. I saw an inhabitant of

Russian account.—Anecdotes.

against our centre. The Duke of Wellington in person, led some battalions of infantry against these columns, and Lord Uxbridge conducted the cavalry. They attacked at the point of the bayonet; the French were overthrown, and their cavalry broken (*culbutee*.) In this charge, one eagle, a standard, and about 1200 prisoners were taken. The victorious troops instantly returned to their positions, and reformed their line.

The attack on the farm did not cease; the enemy penetrated to it, but was never able to establish a footing there.

Bonaparte, seeing that he could not obtain any advantage, manœuvred with all his cavalry, and a part of his infantry, against our right, tried to out-flank it with 17,000 cavalry, and began by a most vigorous attack. The Duke made his dispositions in consequence; the cavalry of both armies charged; the squares of infantry remained immoveable, and

Brussels, who, with three others, was viewing the field on the Thursday after the battle, and had reached the road about a quarter of a mile beyond Belle Alliance, when round a rising ground galloped a Prussian hussar with drawn sabre, who was amongst them in an instant:—"Your watches, your money, or I will cut you down!" The marauder's commands were obeyed; and when the four persons returned to the village of Mount St. John, they related their mal-adventure to four of our own countrymen, who confessed that they too had allowed this fortunate hussar to serve them in the same manner. I do not think that every four Englishmen would have been robbed by one man, however completely armed or mounted.

Russian account.

repulsed every attack: this attempt of the enemy was baffled. At last, about six o'clock, he repeated another attack upon our centre, and succeeded in getting as far as the eminence. The Duke caused him to be attacked, overthrew him, pursued him, and the rout became general.

Prince Blucher had announced, that he would march against the right of the French. On the advance, the two Field Marshals met each other, about half-past eight in the evening.

The army of Lord Wellington did not exceed 50,000 actually engaged. The enemy was far superior, especially in cavalry. The Prince Royal of Orange is wounded in the shoulder; it is hoped that he will recover. Lord Uxbridge has had a thigh fractured. Sir Thomas Picton is killed. The Duke's head-quarters will be at Nivelles this evening. He is gone to Brussels to make up his dispatches (*pour faire son expedition.*)

P. S.—Just as I am going to seal my letter, news is brought that 300 cannon are already taken, and also the equipages of Bonaparte, and prisoners innumerable.

French official account of the battle.

CHAPTER VIII.

French official account—Biographical sketch of Jerome Bonaparte—Particulars by an eye-witness—La Coste's narrative—Marshal Ney's observations—Account of the Legion of Honour—Interesting particulars—Remarks—Anecdotes, &c.

FRENCH ACCOUNT.

Official detail of the battles with the Prussians and English.

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th, the army occupied the following position :

The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2nd corps of infantry, and the 2nd of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasnes.

The right wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3d corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in the rear of Fleurus.

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the Imperial Guard, and the 6th corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The Emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

French account.—Disposition of troops.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field Marshal Blucher, occupying, with its left, the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The Emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The 4th division of the 2d corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of Gen. Vandamme was

French account.—Affair at Ligny.

there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with its accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about 50 pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and re-taken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and Gen. Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy showed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock, we were masters of all the villages situate on the bank of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The Emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the Guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them four squadrons of the Guard, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the Horse Guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the

French account.—Action at Quatre Bras.

field of battle with the dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

General Lutzow, a partizan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Ours was 5000 killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasnes. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the 1st corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and generals of note killed and wounded; we

French account.—Battle of Mont St. Jean.

estimated the loss of the English at from 4 to 5,000 men: ours on this side was very considerable, it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th, the Emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignies with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field Marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he seemed desirous to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignies: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head-quarters of the Emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit.—The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged at a distance of about two leagues.

Battle of Mont St. Jean.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left, on the road to Brussels, and opposite to the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The

French account.—Sketch of Jerome Bonaparte.

2nd corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon-shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right, to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men.—The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, ours less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome,* commanding a division of the 2nd

* Jerome Bonaparte, ex-king of Westphalia, is the youngest brother of Napoleon. He was intended for the sea, became lieutenant of a vessel, and was employed in that capacity in the expedition to St. Domingo, commanded by Leclerc. He soon returned to France with dispatches from this general, then set out again for Martinique, in the frigate *l'Everpier*, which he commanded; and towards the end of 1802, he placed vessels to cruise before the road of St. Peter, and the island of Tobago. After being on a station for some months, he put into harbour in America, where he married Miss Patterson, the daughter of one of the richest mer-

French account.—Sketch of Jerome Bonaparte.

corps, and destined to form the extreme length of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with 30 pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain.—Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with 80 pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean ;

chants of the United States ; which was not approved by the Emperor his brother, on account of his minority. The English, who wished to seize his person, blocked up all the ports whence he could depart to return to France : but he at last escaped their watchfulness, and arrived in May, 1805, at Lisbon, which place he then quitted, went to his brother Napoleon, who was then in Italy, and arrived at Genoa, where he received orders from the Emperor to go to Algiers, and claim as his new subjects the Genoese who were in slavery there. M. Jerome Bonaparte acquitted himself in this commission in the most intelligent manner, and carried back 250 of these unfortunate persons at Genoa. He immediately after went to Paris, then, in November, 1805, to Nantes, and thence to Brest, where he assumed the command of a 74-gun ship. During the subsequent war with Austria, he commanded an auxiliary corps of Germans, and was, on the fall of Prussia, created king of the new kingdom of Westphalia. In the recent campaign of Moscow, his misfortunes seem to have excited the indignation of his imperial brother.

French account.

a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and, which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner,

French account.

and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy showing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry, till we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps.—This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

The other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence*

French account.

in rear of Mont St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle; our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success: but Marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which ensured us a signal success for next day. After eight hours' fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and, in consequence, were thrown into disorder. Cries of, *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle,

French account.

and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication ; soldiers, cannoniers, caissons, all pressed to this point ; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion ; all the soldiers of all arms were mixed *pele-mele*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success ensured for the next day,—all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadrons of *service*, drawn up by the side of the Emperor, were overthrown and disorganized by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right ; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is, when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points

French account.

of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made; ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization.

The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position; no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such has been the issue of the battle of Mont St. Jean, glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

French account, by an eye-witness.

FRENCH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE,

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Translated from the “*Relation fidele de la derniere Campagne de Bonaparte*,” Paris, 1815.

“This relation is an incomparable history of the battle, and, indeed, the only authentic narrative of all the incidents of the battle of Waterloo.”

WALTER SCOTT.

UPON arriving at Beaumont, the army of the North joined that of the Ardennes, commanded by Vandamme, whose head-quarters were at Furnay. The army of the Moselle, under General Girard, quitting Metz by forced marches, debouched in the same period by Philippeville, and brought itself likewise into line. Thus the army of the North was composed of five corps of infantry, under the respective commands of the Lieutenants General D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Girard, and the Count de Lobau. The cavalry, commanded in chief by Marshal Grouchy, was divided into four corps, under the orders of Generals Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman.

The Imperial Guard, which was about 20,000 strong, formed the nucleus of this fine army, which was followed by a considerable *materiel* of artillery, perfectly well equipped, and in the best possible condition, as well as a great many pontoons. Besides the battering train attached to each division,

French account, by an eye-witness.

every corps of the army had its park of reserve.— The Guards, in particular, had a magnificent artillery, almost entirely composed of new pieces.

These troops, all chosen men, and perfectly well disposed, might amount to about 150,000 effective men, 20,000 of which were cavalry, accompanied with 300 pieces of ordinance. But already in the heart of their own country, the troops discovered a want of discipline, which constitutes the strength of armies, and the safeguard of the countries to which they belong.

Without any regard for their unhappy countrymen, who showed the greatest zeal in furnishing them every kind of subsistence in their power, the French soldiers treated them with the utmost degree of rigour, and considered plunder as one of their most incontestable privileges, and made a sort of merit in giving themselves up to every kind of excess.

It is truly afflicting to acknowledge, that the greater part of the officers opposed only a feeble resistance to this infamous pillage, and even tolerated, if not encouraged it, under the ready excuse, “ We must not be too severe: the soldier must live. Why were there no magazines?” And whilst the soldier had his subsistence, the officer, it may be imagined, had abundance, and was only perplexed by the difficulty of choice.

Do we recognise here, it may be demanded, the frank and loyal character of the French officer?— No, certainly not. But let not the French name be

French account, by an eye-witness.

disgraced with posterity because the officers of Bonaparte were not those of Turenne and Villeroi. In the midst of this herd of lawless and unprincipled devastators, there were, doubtless, not wanting many men of honour and principle.*

The country which the army was traversing, covered with wheat already browning, promised a rich harvest; but this abundance existed in vain. Wo to the fields through which was the passage of the troops; and still more so to those which became the position of a camp! In a few moments the labour and gift of the year were trodden under the

* Some idea of the horrible state to which unfortunate Spain was also reduced by the irruption of the French armies, may be drawn from a letter in which the writer states, that he had visited most of the places lately occupied by these ruffianly invaders.—He says that it is impossible to describe the devastation and ruin, the waste in which that ferocious enemy have left the country, far and near in their line of retreat.—Wanton cruelty, like a consuming fire or burning whirlwind, had razed whole villages to the ground, dilapidated towns, and destroyed vineyards; woods were torn down, and the trees, like the female peasantry, were left to perish on the earth on which they had flourished in life and sweetness. For miles, near the ruins of once flourishing villages, no creature was to be seen: the females were either beggars and wanderers, or had perished for want—the males were in the ranks of the patriotic troops. Even in those districts further removed for some time past from the scene of action, misery was still evident. In Seville, out of a population of 70,000 persons of easy circumstances, 30,000 were reduced to ask alms for bread, “and had no pillow on which they might rest their bursting hearts.”

French account, by an eye-witness.

feet of men and horses, or torn up by the roots for fodder.

The Imperial Guard behaved very arrogantly towards the other troops, and were particularly hated by them; and for the disdain which they showed towards others, they were themselves persecuted and tormented in their turn, whenever they were not strong enough to give the law.

The cavalry, in like manner, insulted the infantry with every kind of outrage; and the infantry threatened the cavalry with their bayonets, and affected to despise them. Such was the condition of the army which was marched upon the frontiers to protect and defend the citizens, that had put them in a condition not to dread the presence of a most ferocious enemy.

On the 14th the whole army was found united in line upon the extreme frontier.

Our uncertainty respecting the intention of all these manœuvres, caused the publication of a proclamation, which was inserted in the order of the day, and read at the head of each regiment;* and was received as usual with every demonstration of joy by the enraptured soldiery.

This proclamation wears the same stamp with all his other productions, and only differs from them in greater extravagance and absurdity. Whoever weighed the incoherent declamation of that vain-glorious prophet, looked on it with pity. Mean-

* This has been already given in page 67.

French account, by an eye-witness.

while it augmented the public inquietude by laying open the whole extent of the dangers Bonaparte meant to brave. On the 15th, at break of day, this army broke up for the Belgic territory.

In the mean time, the second corps, having effected its passage lower down the river at Marchienne, advanced upon Gosselies, a large town upon the opposite side of the river, and through which was a road to Brussels. The purpose of this movement was to prevent the Prussians from retiring upon this point, when they should be forced from Charleroi by the attack which was then proceeding. The Prussians, thus forced in front, and anticipated upon our flank, retired upon Fleurus, where they began to occupy themselves in concentrating their army.

Whilst the Prussians were employed in this operation, they had to sustain themselves against the repeated attacks of our divisions, who unceasingly interrupted them whilst taking their position.

The squadrons of the body-guard of Napoleon made several charges upon the Prussian infantry; it was in one of these charges, that the General Letort, Colonel of the Dragoons of the Guard, received a mortal wound. The French finally succeeded in driving the enemy from all his positions on the Sambre.

Towards night the combat ceased; and Bonaparte, after having left the third corps on its route towards Namur, and the second at Gosselies upon the road to Brussels, returned to Charleroi as his

French account, by an eye-witness.

head-quarters. The remainder of the army occupied the surrounding villages. The results of these several engagements were a thousand prisoners, the passage of the Sambre, and the possession of Charleroi and its magazines.

But it was a still more signal advantage, that it confirmed the courage of the troops by success. Napoleon availed himself of this success, and of its fruits, according to his usual system.

The prisoners were paraded with the artifice of a procession at a theatre, by the effect of which a few bands, carefully repeated, and systematically re-introduced, appear to be an army. Thus the prisoners were marched in presence of different divisions from the front to the rear. It may be imagined that the air resounded with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the soldiers believed every thing done in this auspicious beginning. In the beginning of this day, the Prussian army, consisting of four corps, were encamped on the points of the Sambre; they fell back to their line of concentration, Fleurus, Namur, Cincy, and Hannut. The principal corps engaged with us was that of General Ziethen. This general was at Fleurus, where he received us bravely.

Blucher* was made acquainted with these events

* *The Blucher family.*

We have, in a former part of this work, given a sketch of the life of this brave Marshal: but having since met with the following account of his family, we have taken the liberty to insert it;

French account, by an eye-witness.

in the course of the afternoon, and (as was afterwards learned) immediately ordered his other three corps (those at Namur, Cincy, and Hannut,) to make a forced march to Sombref, about four miles from Fleurus, where he proposed to put himself at their head, and give us immediate battle on the next day.

The 16th, at 3. A. M. the columns which remained on the right bank of the Sambre, put themselves in march, and passed the river, when the whole army advanced forward. The command of the left wing, consisting of the 1st and 2nd divisions of infantry, and four corps of cavalry, was given to Ney, who arrived the evening before at head-quarters, and received orders to march by Gosselies and Frasnes, on the road to Brussels.

The centre, composed of the 3d, 4th, and 6th divisions, the reserve, and a numerous body of

impressed with the assurance, that any thing relating to the gallant old veteran, will prove acceptable to the reader.

According to an ancient Chronicle, the family of Blucher was settled, with many other German nobles, to support Christianity, about the year 1256. Ubric Von Blucher was bishop of Ratzeburg, as also his brother Herman; and in 1536, Wipert Von Blucher was also bishop there. The latter not being of the proper age, went to Rome to get a dispensation from the Pope; but his Holiness would not give it him till the following miracle happened, namely, that the hair of Wipert turned grey in one night! The following morning, when the Pope saw this miracle, he made no more difficulty to give him the dispensation. In Prince Blucher, the valiant descendant, we see a contrary and much greater miracle—an old man according to his hair and years, but a youth in spirit and action.

French account, by an eye-witness.

cavalry, forming the mass of the army, directed itself upon Fleurus. Marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol, and some battalions of foot, manœuvred towards the village of Sombref on the Namur road.

They presently descried the Prussian army; the chief masses of which appeared in close columns, crowning the upland levels that surrounded the mill of Bussi, and stretching in amphitheatre through the whole length of a sloping hill, in front of which was a deep ravine, tufted with thickets, that extended in front of the entire line. Its right rested on the village of St. Amand, its centre at Ligny, and its left stretched beyond the reach of sight towards Sombref, Gembloux, and the road to Namur. All these villages, which are large, and built on uneven and broken ground, are in front of the ravine, and were lined with infantry.

Having duly recognised the position (an art in which he excels every man of his age,) Bonaparte ordered the suitable dispositions to attack it. His mind, his eye, his whole deportment, were now on fire.

The *first corps*, which made a position of our left, together with two divisions of heavy cavalry, was posted in the rear of the village of Frasnes,—that is to say, a little to the right of the high road to Brussels, so as to be in readiness to move itself to any point in which it might be wanted. The *third corps* was directed in columns of attack upon the village of St. Amand.

French account, by an eye-witness.

The *fourth* advanced upon Ligny, having the guard, the *sixth* corps, and a numerous cavalry in reserve. Marshal Grouchy, with the divisions on the right, made his advance towards Sombref. The third corps began the fire by attacking the village of St. Amand, where it met with an obstinate resistance. It carried it, however, at the point of the bayonet, but was again charged by the enemy, and compelled to abandon it.

In the mean time, the fourth corps precipitated itself with great alacrity upon Ligny, and a most obstinate conflict was commenced upon this point. Each party fought with the utmost desperation, and for a long time there appeared no yielding, or thought of yielding, on either side.

In the same moment, our two wings had come to the engagement with the opposite wings of the enemy; our right, directing itself against the enemy at Sombref, whilst our left advanced against Frasnes.

Every part of both armies (our reserve alone excepted) was thus engaged; the affair therefore was now general, and the cannonade, increasing every instant, roared in tremendous horror along the lines.

The combat was kept up on both sides with equal obstinacy, and the fury which animated the soldiers of the two parties against each other equal: it seemed as if each of them had a personal injury to revenge, and had found in his adversary his most implacable enemy. The French would give no quarter, and the Prussians vowed to massacre all

French account, by an eye-witness.

the French that should fall into their hands. On both sides the carnage was extreme.

The villages which formed the theatre of action were taken and retaken several times with a horrible butchery: those of St. Amand and Ligny were especially disputed with invincible obstinacy.

The French, however, contrived to lodge themselves in the church-yard of St. Amand, and to maintain themselves there in spite of all the attempts of the Prussians to dislodge them. But there was one terrible moment, when the success was so doubtful on that point, that Bonaparte sent in all haste for the 1st corps to reinforce them.

The left wing, which was now sharply engaged with the English army, against which it had the advantage, and had driven them from the heights of Frasnes to the farm of Quatre Bras, where they had taken a position, found itself considerably weakened. But what had nearly caused the total loss of the battle, was the imprudence of Bonaparte in not giving information to Marshal Ney of his having withdrawn a part of his troops.

The first corps had set off about an hour to march towards St. Amand, when the English army, to which the Prince of Orange had brought numerous reinforcements, took again in turn the offensive, and vigorously repulsed our riflemen and the columns of attack which followed them. The English horse, which was formed along the Brussels road, occupied the whole border of an extensive wood on the left of it.

French account, by an eye-witness.

All the length of this border there was a hollow road; and plains covered with rye of a tolerably good size, separated this wood from the road, the right of which was occupied by the French to a certain extent. In a moment these plains were covered with numerous battalions formed in squares, supported by a very formidable cavalry, who advanced with great confidence, and threatened to force our line. Our troops appeared intimidated, and recoiled with a sort of panic.

The moment was very pressing, and it was necessary to hasten the reserves. Marshal Ney, however, who was little alarmed at these attempts, as he relied on the first corps, sent an order for them to march instantly to the spot, and to charge the enemy. But what was his astonishment, and extreme confusion, when he found that Bonaparte had otherwise disposed of them.

He immediately ordered the 8th and the 11th cuirassiers, who happened to be at hand, to charge the first battalions. This charge was executed with the greatest bravery; but these battalions, being supported from behind with the infantry which filled the wood, were enabled to return such a terrible fire upon us, that our cuirassiers, being repelled in their attempt to pierce them, were compelled to make a wheel round; and, as always happens in such cases, retired in much disorder.

It was in this charge, which, however unfortunate, was executed with the greatest resolution, that a cuirassier of the 11th regiment took a colour of the

French account, by an eye-witness.

English 64th regiment. The retrograde movement which was now sensibly beginning, and the multitude of wounded soldiers who threw themselves into the rear, began now to excite a manifest terror among their comrades.

The wagoners, the servants, the attendants of the camp of all kinds, saved themselves with precipitation; and communicating their panic to all they met, soon clogged up the road to Charleroi. The rout indeed in this point (Ney's command) was beginning to be complete: every one was flying in confusion; and the cry of, *The enemy! the enemy!* was general.

But the evil was not in fact so great as it appeared, and therefore was repaired. This Marshal, the bravest amongst the brave, was not to be daunted or confounded by a slight disaster. General Roussard, with his division of cuirassiers, hastened in a long trot into the front of the English, and reassured the fugitives by his presence, and in good part re-established the battle.

Our infantry, taking their position upon the heights of Frasnes, were compelled to abandon all thoughts of a more forward movement; they confined themselves, therefore, to maintaining this position, and they succeeded in it.

Such was the effect of Napoleon's withdrawing the first corps from Marshal Ney. And the first corps was as useless to the Emperor, as it would have been effectual to Marshal Ney. It was employed only in marching and returning.

French account, by an eye-witness.

In the mean time the fire continued with increased vivacity along the whole line, and particularly towards Ligny, where the greater part of both armies were assembled, and upon which therefore each directed its main efforts. The cannonade, indeed, never relaxed for an instant; and our artillery, as far as I could form a judgment from what I saw, made a most horrible havoc in the Prussian columns, which being posted in masses on the opposite ridge of hills, and upon *plateaux* just below our batteries and position, afforded us a point-blank aim at less than half cannon-shot.

On the other hand, our own troops, carefully posted in the sinuosities of the ground, and at the foot of the hills, were comparatively very little exposed to the Prussian artillery; which thus, like those troops themselves, made more noise than effect, and reminded every military man of the ferocious whiskers and cowardly hearts,—the warlike dress, and *insignificant minds*, of the Prussian officers.

About seven in the evening, we were masters of the villages, but the Prussians still retained their positions behind the ravines. Bonaparte had all along manœuvred so as to be enabled to make a sudden movement upon the rear of the ravine; he saw that the occasion was now at hand, and he instantly directed his Imperial Guard and all his reserve upon the village of Ligny.

This bold and most skilful movement had for its object to separate the right of the Prussians from

French account, by an eye-witness.

the rest of their army, and thus to intercept it from making a retreat upon Namur.

Instantly the Guards, supported by a strong cavalry and powerful artillery, pressed forward to the ravine, which they cleared amidst a shower of balls, and the combat became dreadful. But nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the French grenadiers, who cut their way with the most horrible carnage, our cavalry charging at the same time on every side. At length, after the most obstinate defence, the Prussians were driven back, and left us masters of the field of battle, covered with dead, the dying, the wounded, some prisoners, and a few field pieces. The Guards immediately possessed themselves of the slopes and uplands which were evacuated, and our cavalry pursued the fugitives. During this decisive operation at Ligny, the 3d corps were endeavouring to employ the Prussian right wing, in order to divert their attention from what had passed. But they readily saw through our design, and made good their retreat to Gembloux and Namur.

The French army prepared to push their success; but the approach of night, and fatigues of the day, prevented it. They contented themselves with taking possession of all the Prussian posts, and at ten o'clock the fire had ceased along the whole line.

A variety of exaggerated reports circulated in our army respecting this battle. Marshal Blucher had, in fact, a horse shot under him; he was stunned by the fall, and surrounded by French cuirassiers;

French account, by an eye-witness.

it was to the darkness of the night alone he owed his safety. But notwithstanding the Prussians must have severely suffered; their loss was never known, nor ever attended to in our orders. On the left, where the English were engaged, both parties maintained their ground and their positions.

The death of the Duke of Brunswick was announced, killed from the fire of the division commanded by Jerome Bonaparte; and also the death of General Hill. The first intelligence was confirmed the following day, and urged our French generals to interweave, for the purpose of carrying favour with the ex-king of Westphalia, some unbecoming pleasantries on the fatality that seemed to pursue the unfortunate Duke, who, placed in constant opposition with the conqueror of his estates, was condemned to die by his hand. And the latter, they augured hence, was again called to be his successor. It was added, that Jerome himself had been struck by a spent bullet. We will not stop to examine the truth of a fact of so trivial importance; but it is to be observed, these sort of shots never reach any but great personages, whose valour it is interesting to enhance.

But every one agreed that Bonaparte had obtained his end in separating the Prussians and the English; and that, having so much weakened the former, he had now only the latter to encounter.

It was to realize the hope of exterminating the English, that on the 17th, at day-break, Bonaparte, leaving behind him the 3d and 4th corps, together

French account, by an eye-witness.

with the cavalry of General Pajol, under command of Marshal Grouchy, to watch the Prussians, marched with his reserve, and the 6th corps, towards Quatre Bras.

The English appeared to occupy the same positions as on the day preceding; and the French army remained till 11 o'clock, A. M. observing them, and waiting for the troops from the right, whose arrival was delayed by heavy rains and cross-roads almost impracticable.

Arrangements were made for the attack, and the united corps advanced in front of battle, along the heights of Frasnes, when it was perceived that the English had manœuvred so as to mask their retreat. The troops we saw on the plain, at the entrance of the wood, and on the road, were only a strong rear-guard to cover the same. Bonaparte set out in pursuit of them with his cavalry, and all the army urged its march to Brussels.

During this very rapid march, the ardour of the troops was incredible; they saw only in the expert and perfectly well regulated retreat of the English, a total rout, which would only finish by their embarkation. Already they were promising themselves that they would no more make a stand, but that, given up to their own resources, they would push on, abandoning Brussels to us, and regain with all expedition their vessels.

The artillery, infantry, and carriages, filed along with great embarrassment and precipitation in the high road, covered with a thick mud, while the

French account, by an eye-witness.

cavalry marched by the sides, across corn-fields, which were every where very beautiful, and which they reduced to manure.

The horses plunged up to the belly into this black soil, which was softened and extremely adhesive, and could not be detached without great difficulty ; which retarded greatly the march, and rendered it extremely painful. On the road were found several English caissons, which had been abandoned, and carriages with broken wheels.

We passed over the field of battle of Quatre Bras, which was covered with dead bodies, and with wrecks, on which was also found a tolerable number of wounded French, who had not been carried off. We could here judge how destructive the affair had been to both parties ; but, according to appearances the English had lost a great many more than we ; the plains which separated the wood where they were posted, from the high road, and particularly the borders of this wood and the hollow road before mentioned, were concealed from view by heaps of dead bodies, the greatest part of which were Scotch. Their costume, particularly, attracted the notice of the French soldiers, who called them *sans culottes*.

Bonaparte with his advanced guard pursued the English till night, and did not halt till he arrived at the forest of Soignies, where they opposed to him a resistance which he despaired of overcoming that day. After cannonading and harassing them as long as the day-light permitted him, he caused his

French account, by an eye-witness.

troops to take up a position, and fixed his headquarters at the farm of Caillou, near Planchenoit.

The principal masses of the army encamped at Genappe, and in the neighbourhood of that small town. The night was tremendous; a continual rain which fell in torrents, made the troops suffer cruelly, who were bivouacked in the midst of the mud, and wet corn-fields, and had not time to construct themselves shelter. But if this night was terrible to the soldiers, how much worse was it to the unfortunate inhabitants of the country occupied by the armies, who, panic-struck on all sides, had abandoned their houses, which were given up to all kinds of rapine, which caused them to ask, if the banditti thus let loose upon them were Tartars escaped from the deserts of Asia.

It was generally believed that the English would consecrate the night to continue their retreat, and no one had the least doubt but we should arrive at Brussels the next day; thus they amused themselves with considering the campaign as at an end, as they already considered themselves masters of that town, and that Marshal Grouchy, who, they supposed, would halt that night at Namur, could not fail to arrive at Liege, at the same time that Bonaparte entered the capital of the Netherlands.

Some *soi-disant* deserters, who were no better than spies, assured us that the Belgian army was only waiting for an engagement to go over in a body to our side, but that as their dispositions were known, they were always kept in the rear, ever

French account, by an eye-witness.

since the commencement of hostilities; that it was nevertheless thought that they would rise upon the Prussians unexpectedly, against whom they had a mortal antipathy.

Our first surprise, as the day broke, was to see that the English had not only not fled,—had not only resumed their position, but seemed moreover resolved to defend it. Bonaparte, who had no apprehension during the night, but that they would escape the punishment which he designed for them, was animated with a most sensible joy, at seeing them at their post; he was too fond of the game of war, and thought that he played it too well to have any pleasure in a game only abandoned to him.—He could not refrain the expression of his feeling to those who were around him.—“Bravo!” said he, “the English!”—*Ah! Je les tiens donc—ces Anglais.*—(Ah! I have them then,—these English.)

Without further circumstance, he now hastened up, with all that imprudent impatience which characterizes him, the march of all the columns in the rear; and without any other information than what his eye afforded him, without knowing either the position or the forces of his enemy, without ascertaining that the Prussian army was held in check by Marshal Grouchy, he resolved to attack them on the spot.

The French army, which consisted of four corps of infantry (including the guard,) and of three corps of cavalry, formed an effective force of 120,000. About ten in the morning of this day, (the 18th of

French account, by an eye-witness.

June,) the whole of this force was assembled in advance of Planchenoit. The position was upon two eminences, or short ranges of heights, parallel to two opposite ranges occupied by the English army, the English having taken their position upon some *plateaux* situated in advance of the forest of Soignies, to which forest it was appuyed.

Towards the centre of the line, which was upon Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the mount, and around the farm of the same name, we perceived some strong and deep masses of infantry; they crowned a vast *plateau* or platform of ground, in the front of which we saw a line of redoubts,* the earth of which having been recently dug and heaped, seemed of a different colour from the soil. This *plateau* extended itself on both sides along the edge of the forest, but the line, to appearance at least, diminished in depth as it extended, and was covered with batteries.

The right of the English army extended itself upon the village of Merke Brain, having in front of it the farm of Hougoumont, surrounded with intersected ravines or deep descents; their left was extended towards Wavre, and was likewise covered in front by a ravine and the farm of La Haye Sainte.

We could not follow this line with our eyes through its whole extension; but it appeared to us to terminate behind the village of Smouhen, where

* This is an error; there were no redoubts.

French account, by an eye-witness.

was the position of the Brunswick troops. Generally speaking, with the exception of the great *plateaux* in and about Mont St. Jean, which formed the centre of the English line, we saw but a few troops; but naturally supposed, what the event afterwards justified, that they were stationed, and thereby hidden, in the gorges which separated the plats from the forest, and in the forest itself.

The head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington were at Waterloo, in the rear of all his lines; and the lines, as may be seen by the plans which accompany my journal, were so established as to cross and to cover the roads of Brussels and Nivelles.

Scarcely had the French troops all assembled, when Bonaparte, who was stationed on a hillock, situated at a very short distance from the place where he slept, on the right of the road, near the farm of La Belle Alliance, whence he could discover all the movements, sent an order to commence the action; he was walking alone, with his arms crossed upon his breast, in front, and at a short distance from his staff, who were ranged in a line behind him. •

The day was stormy; and there fell at intervals a few showers, which were not of long continuance. This weather continued during the day.

The 2nd corps was placed on the left, and marched against the farm of Hougoumont. The 1st rested its left upon the high road, and extended towards the centre. The 6th occupied the right. The guard remained in reserve upon the heights.—

French account, by an eye-witness.

The cavalry was divided between the different points, but the strongest columns of those troops occupied the two wings, and especially the right.

Towards noon, the first discharge of cannon resounded from the French lines, and numerous riflemen detached themselves in order to commence the action. The left attacked smartly the buildings of Hougoumont, the buildings of which had been looped by the infantry, who occupied them in great force, and who fought with extreme obstinacy.—The battalions and squadrons marched against the masses stationed behind this farm, and who sent continually reinforcements to it.

The engagement soon grew serious upon the right, with the same ardour; and the centre, advancing gradually to follow the movement of the two wings, and to act in concert with them, an extremely heavy firing was instantly perceived along the whole of the line; the affair was become general, and promised from the beginning, to be very hot and serious.

After an hour's conflict, during which the artillery and musketry of both sides were served in the most gallant style, the English appeared to retire a little, and the French army pressed its approaches: the artillery advanced in front throughout the whole line, and the columns followed it.

Our troops were thus all engaged by degrees, not without suffering great losses, amidst the difficulties of an uneven ground, hilly, and intersected with hollows, deep ditches, and ravines, where they

French account, by an eye-witness.

were stopped at every step by fresh masses, which, being concealed by the ground, were not perceived till they fell upon them.

Every foot of ground was disputed, and only yielded on either side when all the means of resistance were exhausted; the smallest hillocks, the most inconsiderable hollows, were often taken and retaken several times. Repeated charges of cavalry were carried into execution; the field of battle was heaped with dead bodies; and the firing, far from relaxing in the least, was increasing continually in violence.

The combat was sustained on either side with equal fury; the defence was as obstinate as the attack was impetuous. In a short time it was announced that very strong columns were marching, the bayonet in front, upon Mont St. Jean, at the same time that the cavalry of the wings were to charge the batteries, which appeared to be very little protected. This grand movement, from the result of which so much might be expected, was impatiently awaited for; but the obstinate perseverance of the English in maintaining their position in the villages which flanked their wings, retarded it.

They successively sent battalions towards the farms of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, which our cavalry as frequently drove back; yet those villages, though pressed with unparalleled vigour, still defended themselves. Eager to drive the enemy from Hougoumont, who appeared resolved not to retire, we decided to set fire to it, at the same time

French account, by an eye-witness.

sending a reinforcement against La Haye Sainte, which we carried after a most sanguinary contest.

The English artillery made dreadful havoc in our ranks: we were so completely exposed, that their rockets passed easily through all the lines, and fell in the midst of our equipage, which was placed behind on the road, and its environs. A number of shells too burst amongst them, and rendered it indispensable for the train to retire to a greater distance. This was not done without considerable disorder, which the English clearly perceived.

Our artillery re-opened their fire with equal vivacity; but probably with much less effect, as their masses could only be levelled against by approximation, being almost entirely masked by the inequalities of the ground. The continuous detonation of more than 600 pieces of artillery; the fire of the battalions and light troops; the frequent explosion of caissons, blown up by shells which reached them; the hissing of balls and grape-shot; the clash of arms; the tumultuous roar of the charges, and shouts of the soldiery—all created an effect of sound, the pen is impotent to describe; and all this within a narrow space, the two armies being close to each other, and their respective lines contracted into the shortest length possible. However, in spite of obstacles and dangers, the French army was sensibly gaining ground.

The support of the two British wings being carried, we passed the ravine, and made our advances

French account, by an eye-witness.

amidst a deluge of balls and grape-shot. A strong column approached Mont St. Jean, whence a terrific fire was pouring. The French cavalry at the same time rushed to carry the guns at the plains, but was charged in its turn by the enemy's horse, who issued in a body from the hollows where they had lain in ambuscade, and the slaughter became horrible. Neither side gave way one step; fresh columns reinforce them; the charge is repeated.—Three times the French are on the point of forcing the positions, and three times they are driven back.

These three assaults, made without interruption, and with all the impetuosity which distinguishes the French, caused the enemy considerable loss, and obliged him to make the greatest efforts of resistance. Lord Wellington exposed himself considerably; and in order to be able to direct all his means himself, threw himself frequently into the midst of the conflict, to show himself to his soldiers, and give them confidence by his presence.

The Prince of Orange, who was in the right wing, was wounded at the head of his troops.

If, however, witnesses very worthy of credit, may be believed, the English were very near being forced. It has also been confidently asserted, that the greatest disorder reigned in their rear for some time, and that their carriages were made to retrograde precipitately, which filed on the Brussels road with great confusion, amidst a general panic.

But, be that as it will, it is not less certain, that

French account, by an eye-witness.

they repulsed, with an insurmountable firmness, all our attempts, and succeeded in rendering them fruitless, by concealing from our observation, the derangement and fears which such furious attacks, repeated so often, and with so much obstinacy, certainly inspired.

At the same instant as they began to be troubled, and to conceive violent alarms, there was also in the French army a hesitation and evident uneasiness; some battalions that had been overthrown retreated; great numbers of wounded detached themselves from the columns, and spread ideas of the greatest uncertainty respecting the issue of the battle; a profound silence had succeeded to the joyful acclamations of the soldiery, who made sure of victory.

Excepting the infantry of the guard, the whole of the troops were seen to be exposed to the most murderous fire; the action was still kept up with the same violence, but brought no results.

An English officer, who was wounded, and a prisoner, was brought before Bonaparte. He endeavoured to obtain some information from him, and asked, among other things, what was the force of the English army? The officer told him that it was very numerous, and that it had just received a reinforcement of 60,000 men. "So much the better," says he, "the more there are, the more we shall beat." He sent off several estafettes with dispatches, which he dictated to a secretary, and repeated several times with distraction, "See that he does not forget to say every where that the victory is mine."

French account, by an eye-witness.

In short, it was at this epoch, and at the moment when all his enterprises had completely miscarried, that it was announced to him, that some Prussian columns had appeared on our right flank, and were threatening our rear; but he would never give any credit to this report, and replied several times, that they had observed very ill, and that these pretended Prussians were nothing else than the corps of Grouchy. He even ill-treated, and sent back with ill-humour, several of the aides-de-camp, who successively brought him these tidings. "Go along," said he, "you have been frightened; approach without fear to the columns which have appeared, and you will be convinced that they are those of Grouchy."

After so positive an answer, several of them, in confusion for their mistake, returned with confidence towards the Prussian advanced corps, and notwithstanding the warm fire which these directed against them, approached so near as to run the risk of being taken or killed.

It was necessary therefore to yield to evidence, and it was besides impossible any longer to mistake the truth of what was stated, when these columns, filing off as they arrived, made a fierce attack on our right. Part of the sixth corps was sent to support this new shock, in expectation of the arrival of Marshal Grouchy's divisions, which were continually reckoned upon; the report was even spread in the army that they were already in line.

It results from the accounts, that part of Marshal

French account, by an eye-witness.

Blucher's army, which, after the battle of the 16th, had carefully concentrated itself near Wavre, had carefully concealed its march from Marshal Grouchy; and that after being rejoined by the fourth Prussian corps under General Bulow, had, with great expedition, re-approached the English line to co-operate with the Duke of Wellington.

Marshal Grouchy had, in fact, pursued the Prussians closely in their retreat upon Wavre, and had in that place attacked the portion of their army which remained there.* He was fighting at the very

* REPORT ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR BY MARSHAL
DE GROUCHY.

“ Dinant, June 20, 1815.

“ It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June, that I received the letter of the Duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack General Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre, and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town; and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre, on the right of the Dyle, was carried, but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was wounded by a ball in the breast, while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and Lieut. General Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to co-operate with your Majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle, and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the mean time, maintained the attack on the Wavre, and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to debouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limale, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the

French account, by an eye-witness.

time that we were also engaged, against some small corps, which he mistook for the whole of the Prussian army, over which he continued to gain signal advantages.

These corps, however, being favoured by the difficulties of a mountainous country, opposed him with a resistance obstinate enough, if not to arrest his march, at least to retard it considerably. They thus succeeded in engaging him at a sufficient distance from the place where the business was really to be decided, and thus prevented his having any

cavalry. Night did not permit us to advance further, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your Majesty was engaged.

“I halted in this situation until day-light. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of Bielge taken. The brave General Penny was killed.

“General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre, and along the whole of my line the success was complete. I was in front of Rozière, preparing to march on Brussels, when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me, that your Majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong

French account, by an eye-witness.

share in that decision. For this reason he was of no assistance to us ; and thus the English received a considerable reinforcement, whose intervention, which they knew well how to value, and which, besides, was foreseen, enabled them not only to be fearless of our most vigorous attempts, but to resume against us the offensive, and shortly to overpower us. They, therefore, re-assumed an entire confidence ; and calculating their dispositions from the favourable circumstances which presented themselves, they resisted with all their strength, and with an ardour incessantly renewed.

to make a diversion in favour of your Majesty, without compromising that which I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment the rear of the columns was attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered, for a moment, the retreat of the left ; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken were recovered by the brave 20th Dragoons, who besides took an howitzer from the enemy. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile, which extends from this place to Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I intrusted the defence of Namur to General Vandamme, who, with his usual intrepidity, maintained himself there till eight in the evening ; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.

“ The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate : the troops have performed their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed)

“ DE GROUCHY.”

French account, by an eye-witness.

It is besides evident, that this operation had been concerted between the two commanders in chief, and that the English defended their position with a steadiness so insuperable, only to give time to the Prussians for effecting this combined movement; on which depended the success of the battle, the commencement of which they hourly expected.

Bonaparte, who in despite of all appeared to have no doubt concerning the speedy arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and who, undoubtedly, persuaded himself that he pressed closely on the Prussian army, judged with a determination which nothing could alter, that the moment for deciding the day was arrived. He accordingly formed a fourth column of attack, composed almost entirely of the guard, and after sending off to every point instructions for supporting this movement on which the victory depended, directed it at the *pas de charge* on Mont St. Jean.

These old warriors rushed upon the plain with the intrepidity one might expect from them: the whole army resumes its vigour, the fire is again lighted up along the line, the guard made several charges, but their efforts were constantly repulsed; being destroyed by a formidable artillery, which appeared to multiply.

These invincible grenadiers beheld their ranks shattered by the grape-shot; they closed them quickly and with great coolness, still marching on, without being intimidated; nothing arrested their progress, but death or serious wounds; but the

French account, by an eye-witness.

hour of defeat was come; enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, to which we could no longer oppose any, our own being entirely destroyed, pour upon them with fury, and surrounding them on all sides, summon them to surrender: "*The guard never surrender, they die,*" was their reply. From that time no more quarter was given them, almost the whole fell, fighting like desperadoes, beneath the strokes of sabres or of bayonets: this horrible massacre continued as long as their resistance; but at length overpowered by forces vastly superior, and discouraged besides, from opposing themselves in vain to certain destruction, they quitted their ranks, and fell back in disorder to their first positions, with the intention, no doubt, of their rallying again.

Whilst things were thus passing in the centre, the Prussian columns having arrived on our right, continued to advance, and to press with ardour the few troops that were found on that point; a cannonading and a very brisk fire of musketry was heard in the rear of our line, and approached nearer and nearer; our troops sustained the combat as long as possible, but they gradually lost ground. At last our right wing retrograded sensibly, and the Prussians, who were turning it, were on the point of bursting on the high-road, when the report was circulated that the guard had been repulsed, and that its battalions, scattered and reduced to a small number, were seen to retire with precipitation: a general panic spread itself throughout the army, who dis-

French account, by an eye-witness.

persed in every direction, and sought their safety in the most precipitate flight: in vain did Bonaparte in despair collect together, for one last effort, a few battalions of the young and old guard, who had not yet given way, and conducted them once more against the enemy, who had already issued *en masse* from their positions; all is in vain; intimidated by what was passing around them, and overwhelmed by numbers, this feeble reserve was soon overthrown.

Then the whole army, spontaneously and at the same instant, abandoned their positions, and retire like a torrent; the gunners abandoned the pieces, the soldiers of the train cut away the traces of the horses; the infantry, cavalry, all kinds of arms mixed and confounded together, no longer present the appearance of any thing but an unformed mass, which nothing could stop, and which was flying in disorder along the high road and across the fields; a crowd of carriages on the sides of the road, follow the movement with precipitation, jostling all together, and blocking up the road to such a degree, that there was no longer any passing.

Nevertheless, no cry of *sauve qui peut** was to be heard, and this general rout was the consequence of a spontaneous movement, the causes of which are unknown, or which it would be very difficult to

* That this exclamation was made use of, there can be no doubt: although this writer denies it, the fact has been confirmed by the accounts of La Coste and many others who were present.

French account, by an eye-witness.

assign, if it was not natural to attribute them to the account which the soldier knew how to render to himself, of the perilous position in which we were.

The French soldier is never like almost all those of other nations, entirely passive ; he observes, he reasons, and in no case does he give a blind obedience to his chiefs, so as to neglect submitting their operations to his own judgment ; no point of direction had been given, and there was no word of command to be heard ; the general and other chiefs, lost in the crowd, and hurried on by it, were separated from their corps ; there did not exist a single battalion in the rear of which they could rally ; and since nothing had been provided to ensure a reasonable retreat, how could they struggle against so complete a rout, such a one as they had not even an idea of, and what was never heard of, hitherto in the French army, already assailed by so many disasters.

The guard, that immoveable phalanx which, in the greatest disasters, had always been the rallying point of the army, and had served it as a rampart ; the guard, in fine, the terror of the enemy, had been appalled, and was flying, dispersed with the multitude.

Every one saves himself as he can ; they push, they crowd, groups more or less numerous form, and follow passively those which precede them.

Some dare not deviate from the high road, and endeavour to force themselves a passage through the carriages with which it was covered : others con-

French account, by an eye-witness.

ceive it dangerous, and direct their course to the right or left, as fancy leads them; fear exaggerates every danger, and night, which was now gaining upon them, without being very dark, contributed greatly to increase the disorder.

The enemy, perceiving the confused flight of the army, instantly detached a large body of cavalry in pursuit. While some squadrons proceeding along the road, fall suddenly on the *ambulances* (medical stations,) which had not time to be prepared for this assault; other formidable columns advance on our flanks.

The carriages of the Bonaparte family, seized near the farm-house in which he had lodged, became almost the first booty of the Prussians, together with a quantity of other baggage. All the cannon which had been formed into batteries, remaining on the ground where they had been used, as well as the caissons which belonged to them, fell at the same time into the enemy's hands. In less than half an hour all the *materiel* had vanished.

The English and Prussians having completely effected their junction, the two commanders, Wellington and Blücher, met at the farm of La Belle Alliance, and concerted the means of following up their good fortune. The English had materially suffered in the conflict. Their cavalry, in particular, being exhausted with fatigue, would have found it difficult to have followed up the French with sufficient vivacity to prevent their rallying; but the Prussian cavalry being fresh, hastened its advance,

French account, by an eye-witness.

and pressed closely upon us, without allowing us a moment's relaxation.

The mass of fugitives, being thus urged, rapidly passed over the space of two leagues, which divides Genappe from the field of action, and arrived at that small town, most of them hoping that they should be able to halt there for the night. With the intent of opposing the enemy's progress, they hastened to accumulate carriages in the road, and to barricade the entrance of the principal street.

Some pieces of artillery were formed into a battery, bivouacs were established in the town and its vicinity, and the soldiers dispersed themselves among the houses in search of food and lodging. But scarcely are these dispositions formed, when the enemy appears. A few cannon-shot, fired at the cavalry as it came in view, spread a general consternation. The camp instantly breaks up, each individual takes to flight, and the tumultuous retreat is resumed with increased confusion and embarrassment.

During these movements, the fate of Bonaparte was unknown. Some asserted that he had fallen in the combat. When this intelligence was stated to a well-known general officer, he replied in the words of Megret, after Charles the Twelfth was killed at Frederickstadt, "*Thus ends the tragedy.*" It was stated by others, that after charging several times at the head of his guards, he was dismounted and taken prisoner. The same uncertainty prevailed as to the fate of Marshal Ney, of the Major General, and of most of the principal generals.

French account, by an eye-witness.

The former, who had under his particular command the first and second corps, had personally directed the different attacks at the centre ; and had been constantly in the heat of the battle.

It appears, that to the very instant when it became certain that it was not Grouchy's corps which was advancing to the right, he had looked forward with hope for the event ; but on perceiving that Bonaparte maintained against all evidence that Grouchy was marching into line, and that he caused this false intelligence to be ostentatiously circulated throughout the ranks, he imputed to him the design of imposing on his troops, and of inspiring them with a confidence prejudicial to their security.

From that time his opinion changed, and he no longer acted with the same coolness and self-collection ; but it must be avowed, that not one reproach was made against him by the army on his change of conduct, and his bravery was never suspected ; he merely partook the general anxiety and discouragement. It was indeed obvious, that from the opening of the campaign he appeared profoundly dissatisfied, but dissimulated his feelings in presence of the public.

There subsisted between him and Bonaparte a certain misunderstanding, and a kind of reciprocal distrust very difficult to fathom, but not the less evident. There is every reason to believe too, that he entertained a jealousy of Marshal Grouchy, which Bonaparte himself seemed manifestly to adopt. Such dissensions between the principal

French account, by an eye-witness.

chiefs, must necessarily have cramped the course of their operations, and disturbed the unity of their plans.

A great number of persons declared to have seen Bonaparte in the midst of the crowd, and perfectly distinguished him by his grey capotte and pie-bald horse.

This last story was the true one. When the last battalions of the guard were overthrown, Bonaparte was hurried away with them, surrounded on all sides by the enemy, into a cider-orchard, near the farm Caillon. There he was met by two cavaliers of the guard, who conducted him cautiously through the Prussian parties that were scouring the country, but who, fortunately for him, were all employed in stopping and plundering the equipages. He was known and recognized in many places, and often heard the whisper run, "The Emperor!—the Emperor!"—words of alarm, which caused his instant removal from the spot, wherever heard.

After a flight harassed by the enemy through the whole night, the sad relics of our army reached at the point of day, part of them Charleroi, and the rest to Marchienne, where they hastened to repass the Sambre. The remaining equipages, meanwhile, impeded by their gradual accumulation on the two roads which lead to the bridges of Charleroi and Marchienne, were overtaken by the Prussians, abandoned by their train and drivers; and thus the last cannon and military carriage fell into the power of the enemy, who made at the same time a great number of prisoners.

French account, by an eye-witness.

The Sambre once crossed by the fraction of our army, we hoped to be able to halt, and bivouacs were established in the orchards and meadows on its right bank; but an alarm was given, that the Prussians were nigh; without waiting orders; without attempting to destroy, or even turn adrift the bridges, without making a single recognisance, the flight re-commenced with all its disorder: the whole started at once, and each for his own account directs his steps he knows not where.

A very great number cut off from the rest, with no other design than that of escaping the enemy's cavalry, threw themselves into the large woods in the neighbourhood. In this manner did the army become more and more dispersed, and almost disappeared altogether.

It was this last road which Bonaparte had chosen for his retreat. Once more did he desert his army; he abandoned it without making a single effort to rally it, in the midst of dangers which he seems to delight in, aggravating still more by delivering them up to anarchy, and a total dissolution.*

* If Bonaparte be reprehensible for his neglect, in not fixing upon a point of rendezvous for his routed army, in the event which actually occurred: how much more so for the cowardly precipitancy with which he sought his own individual safety!—The surviving brave fellows, whom he had led on to disgrace and danger, amidst the perils which surrounded them, even now appeared more solicitous for the security of their worthless Emperor, than for their own; and thus casting upon him a reproach which must have been the most galling to a man possessed of the feeblest

French account, by an eye-witness.

Wandering at random, and issuing in crowds from the woods, thousands of straggling soldiers spread themselves over the fields, and carry with them alarm.

The unfortunate inhabitants are confounded to learn, almost at the same moment, the success and the irreparable defeat of the French army, and to find themselves the prey of an enemy, whom a victory bought with their blood ought to render more ferocious, at a moment too when they were rejoicing to see the theatre of war removing to a distance from them.

The strong places every where shut their gates, and repelled by force the fugitives who presented themselves for admission, obliging them to fall back into the neighbouring communes, where they were guilty of every kind of excess.

sensibilities. His repeated cry was, *we must save ourselves*.—The man who, when the lives of others only were concerned, passionately exclaimed, *forwards, forwards*; this man, now when danger threatens himself, knows no other feeling, but, *we must save ourselves*. This was bad taste in our modern Alexander, who has been exhibited to the world as the prototype of courage and magnanimity.

The great Frederick of Prussia, in circumstances as desperate as were those of Bonaparte, when he took to flight, succeeded in retrieving a great battle; but it was not by the pusillanimous cry of *we must save ourselves*. That monarch galloped up to a small but firm body of his guards, the only remnant of the field, and calmly asked them, “My friends, when do you mean to die?”—“Now, sire!” was the prompt reply. “Then follow me,” rejoined the sovereign.

French account, by an eye-witness.

It was in his quality of fugitive, that Bonaparte, more confused and less confident than all the rest, came as a suppliant to request admission to Philippeville ; he stood in need of the protection of the ramparts of that place to conceal him from the active pursuit of the Prussians, who had tracked him with great caution, and who had already dispatched towards this point numerous parties, into whose hands he was fearing to fall.

On his arrival at the gates, he supported the humiliation of seeing himself interrogated by a guard, before whom he laid aside his quality of emperor, and who did not allow him admission till he was at length recognized as such by the governor, who was called upon to identify him. As soon as he had entered with his scanty suit, the barriers were closed.

A short time afterwards, orders were issued to disperse the collection of soldiers which every moment increased around the city and its entrances. It being rumoured among them that their illustrious emperor was at length found, and that he was in that place, they considered it their duty to encamp around him, flattering themselves likewise, that through his protecting care, the fortress would at length be opened to them.

But Bonaparte's prudence is too well known.—According to his judgment, such a collection of troops might attract the enemy towards this point, and cause his asylum to be discovered ; he therefore sent orders to them to continue their route.—

French account, by an eye-witness.

But having, as an able general, profoundly analyzed the means of acting on the *moral* of his troops after a defeat, in order to insure complete and speedy obedience to his command, he adopted a little stratagem, the result of which was certain. A few emissaries, issuing from the town, ran towards the camp in great confusion, crying out, "Save yourselves, here come the Cossacks; make haste, here come the Cossacks." It may easily be imagined that more was not requisite, and that they all instantly disappeared.*

This mob of expelled wretches were the persons who, in despairing accents, and overwhelmed with anguish, circulated the lamentable news, that their Emperor was blockaded in Phillippeville. This was considered as a positive fact, nor had any person along the roads to Mezieres and Laon the sagacity to conclude that it was nothing more than a well concerted combination, a *ruse de guerre* of quite a new description, invented by the great man to cover the wise march on which his security depended.

Fortunately, however, the public mind was not

* The following anecdote will serve as another instance of the artifices for which Bonaparte has been so celebrated.

During the time that he was raising strength to oppose and render himself triumphant over the combined powers of Europe, he sent an express to Boulogne, demanding, that all the men who could be spared should be immediately forwarded to the army, with a precise notification, that these men were not wanted for field service, but only to guard the prisoners, the number of whom was so immense that he could not spare soldiers to secure them.

French account, by an eye-witness.

long oppressed by the inauspicious rumour of an event so fatal. Bonaparte left Phillippeville after resting some hours there, and proceeded to Mezieres. At the approach of night, he passed by the walls of Rocroi, where it was believed he would stay.

Great part of the inhabitants ascended the ramparts, and he had the pain to hear himself hailed with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, as long as he continued in sight; he appears, however, to have deemed it more prudent to take advantage of the night, in making the best of his way, and therefore made no delay.

A few only of the officers who attended him, together with the small number of those of his suite who had survived the disaster, entered the town; two or three horses were all that remained, the carriages of every description having all fallen into the hands of the enemy.

The large body of the army which had directed its course towards Avesnes and Laon, likewise felt the strongest uneasiness for the fate of Bonaparte; and in this direction, more particularly, they were entirely ignorant of what had befallen him. Convinced that he was not amongst them, and concluding that he must have sunk on the field of honour, where he had led so many brave men to death, they mourned over the frightful destiny reserved for a person so much valued by them. On learning of his arrival at Paris, in full health and vigour—eternal disgrace!—how is the indignation to be described, which could not fail to impress their minds!

French account, by an eye-witness.

Since the affair at Ligny, all communication with the right of the army had been cut off; we were perfectly ignorant of what had become of them, and the most unpleasant rumours were circulated about them. Where then was this fine army, recruited from the wrecks of many brilliant armies that Bonaparte had already sacrificed?

It would have seemed that, enraged at seeing a few thousand brave fellows who had escaped his fury, he had issued from his retreat, only to devour the rest. But the faults that he committed, ought rather to be attributed to his want of skill, accompanied by an extraordinary rashness, and to his incorrigible and well-known manner of advancing always with a blind confidence, without any plan, and without calculating any chance.

It is evident that system, so uniformly adopted and persevered in by Bonaparte, being unveiled to the allied generals, had opened the pit-fall in which his own self-security precipitated him; for, whatever their foreign bulletins may advance, with the intention, no doubt, of enhancing the glory of their generals, and the bravery of the men, it is clear that the position of Mount St. John had been reconnoitred, designed and marked out with the full purpose to draw him thither with his army, and there give him battle; for only a Bonaparte, infallible in his own opinion, could have failed to see through it. The calculated retreat of the English on so strong a position, the obstinacy with which they maintained it, the facility they had for masking their troops and

French account, by an eye-witness.

artillery in an immense forest, and beyond all that, the redoubts and open batteries they had raised, would have awakened mistrust in almost any other general. What further strengthens the supposition is, the erection of a wooden observatory, which had been raised on a knoll in front of the forest, where, with a good telescope, every movement as far as the Sambre might be distinguished. It was certainly erected to watch us, and could not have been the work of twenty-four hours.

In every hypothesis, prudence called on him to reconnoitre the ground, and ascertain the dispositions of the enemy; and could the most unexperienced general commit the error of making an attack, without first placing himself in communication with his right wing, or at least being fully aware of its operations? Besides, supposing that we had forced the English line, which could not have been done without very considerable loss, what had been our advantage? Behind them was a forest of 15 leagues long by five broad; the road through it was but a narrow defile, where 10,000 men, and a few pieces of artillery would have stopped the progress of the greatest army.

Great fault was found with the charge of our officers, to whose ill success they ascribed all the mischief that ensued. They were accused of not having met boldly the enemy's battalions, though they had brought away one standard; and some went so far as to surmise treason. Rumours like these spread presently through the whole army:

French account, by an eye-witness.

and, to counteract the bad impression, it was studiously propagated, that several generals who had become traitors, among the rest General Bourmont, had been delivered to a military commission, and shot.

Every thing, however, was lost; and the destruction of the French army was the more inevitable from its right being turned, and no provision made for a retreat. Yet, (who will credit it?) Bonaparte alone appeared to make light of the dangers which threatened him. Yet will he advance again, and flatters himself still with a few battalions to overturn a force that had resisted his whole army!

And this is the man who passes for the first captain of the age!—Yet, it will not be doubted, that at Mount St. John, Bonaparte displayed the whole measure of his faculties; he had too much need of victory not to put forth all his energies to obtain it. Either, then, it must be acknowledged, all his former victories were due to chance, or that his intellects were deranged on the 18th of June; for his combinations of that day could not otherwise be termed judicious, than in so much as we presuppose his formal determination to cause the assassination of his whole army. Such at least was the opinion of his most consummate generals on this day, who exclaimed in the violence of despair, “The man is not himself! what would he have? he loses his understanding!”

It is, however, pretended by some, that setting aside all disadvantages of ground, the manner in

French account, by an eye-witness.

which he directed the attacks, and the evolutions he commanded, bore strong resemblance to those of Marengo, in so much that if on a sudden, at the moment when the victorious English army broke from their positions to rush upon us, a formidable column had issued from the ground, commanded by a Desaix, it is more than probable the chances had turned to our advantage.

If then Marshal Grouchy had appeared at the instant, he would have played most truly the part of Desaix, and it is beyond a doubt the victory had been ours. But he was too distant from the field of action to figure there so effectually. That consideration aggravates the inconceivable errors committed at Mount St. John by Bonaparte, whom nothing compelled to hazard so abruptly a decisive battle, and who, instead of reducing his right wing to an absolute nullity by neglecting to secure his communications with it, might without inconvenience have waited till it had rejoined. One day—a few hours even—would have sufficed to accomplish this most essential point, which would have placed every probability of a successful termination on our side: nor can the disasters that ensued from that circumstance be ascribed to unforeseen misfortune; for it is clear, that no measures had been taken to acquire any certain knowledge of the march of Grouchy's corps, or of the difficulties it might have encountered. And arrangements were made, which implied a full certainty, that that body having per-

French account, by an eye-witness.

fectly repulsed the Prussians, its prompt co-operation might be implicitly relied on.

It is generally believed, that when Bonaparte saw the affair turning so badly, he charged with the greatest bravery at the head of his guard; that he had two horses killed under him, and courted death in the midst of the English several times. This desperation was proof of a disturbed mind. We must, therefore, deeply deplore the fate of an army committed to the hands of a man marked by such invincible obstinacy—with whom there can be no alternative, but to conquer or die!

The battle of Mount St. John was assuredly, one of the most murderous that ever has been recorded. The French army, consisting of 120,000 men, after certainly displaying prodigious valour, was almost totally destroyed; 300 pieces of cannon, all the caissons and equipages, fell into the power of the enemy, as well as an innumerable mass of prisoners; and the bodies of more than 20,000 Frenchmen, mangled with grape-shot, strewed the field. The English, likewise, suffered great losses; but not comparable to those of the French, from the superior advantage afforded by their position. Nevertheless, it is presumed the allied armies had at least as many as 20,000 killed. There is reason to believe, that at the commencement of the action, their forces were nearly equal; but the English army was, in fact, much stronger through its entrenchments, and became considerably augmented by the effective co-operation of the Prussians.

French account, by an eye-witness.

It was easy to predict the consequences of this fight. The scattered fragments of the French army rallied in the environs of Laon and of Rheims, but, weak and discouraged, were incapable of opposing the immediate entrance of the allies into the capital. They presently made their appearance before the barriers of Paris, when some resistance was first presented, on the arrival of those corps which had composed the right wing of the army.

This right wing, which was supposed to have been destroyed, had, with singular good fortune, retreated by Namur; and, after marching eight days in the midst of the allies, and parallel with them, joined at length the remainder of our army, without having met any considerable loss.

Thus seventy thousand men were concentrated before Paris, and threatened to defend that capital. But what could so small a force effect against the united arms of all Europe, which were approaching with rapid strides towards their central point?—After some days spent in a resistance extremely alarming to the inhabitants, whose safety was thereby endangered to an indefinite extent, they succeeded in overcoming the obstinacy of the troops, who had determined to hold out to the last extremity, and were resolved to exact for that purpose the greatest sacrifices. In thus gradually disposing them to accept a capitulation, and extorting, it may be said, in this manner, their consent to evacuate Paris, France in reality gained a signal victory; the results

French account, by an eye-witness.

of which are incalculable, and perhaps saved the capital from entire destruction.

The battle of Mount St. John, therefore, by the occupation of Paris, and re-establishment of the legitimate Government, terminated the frightful strife in which Bonaparte had engaged us. No doubt, the momentary destruction of so many thousands of men was a dreadful catastrophe; but it was the prompt and unexpected issue of a frightful war, which might probably have ravaged France for an indefinite period. Even had their efforts been unanimous, yet must she have yielded finally to the united energies of Europe against her; and, meanwhile, a prey to wild devastation, trampled under foot by numerous enemies, her soil would only have been ceded, when covered with dead, and encumbered with the sad ruins of burning villages, her inhabitants had abandoned in despair to the destructive fury of a rapacious soldiery.

History has shown, by frequent and terrible examples, that men whom the power of arms has raised above all law, no longer recognise the ties of patriotism. They form a corps apart, and treat with undistinguishing fury their own or foreign lands. And what protection could be sought from an army, whose whole allegiance and devotion were centred in the individual Bonaparte, and who avowed themselves, in the face of the world, to be the blind instruments of his will? Accustomed to a wandering life of plunder, and imbued with the sole genius of

French account, by an eye-witness.

destruction, they exhibited a system of military cosmopolitism. It breathed only war, for war and unchecked rapine were the object of its vows. After having ravaged the rest of Europe, France was still a virgin land, that presented to them a wide and fertile field of depredation. The spirit of disorder and indiscipline this army carried along with it every where, victorious or fugitive, had become contagious, and spread not only among the foreign troops who served in its ranks, but among those they opposed. France could not, therefore, have expected a better lot than those unhappy lands their presence had desolated.

Though unfortunately it is too notorious, that the French in their incursions into the neighbouring states, set an example of rapine and exaction, it is no less certain they have been well imitated, if not excelled by those of the foreign troops, who seem to have made it a point of honour to resemble them in this particular. And there is one nation, to whom perhaps it belongs of right to exercise the most cruel reprisals, that may well serve as a model thereof. But whatever be the inducements to such a scandalous abuse of military power, its perpetrators blindly light up a volcano, that assuredly will one day explode under their own feet; for, it cannot be denied, it is the afflicting excesses with which the French armies are reproached, that have drawn down on their native land the resentment of all Europe, and provoked that terrible re-active visitation under which we now groan. In every

French account, by an eye-witness.

point of view, therefore, they have been the heralds of greater evil to France, than to the countries that have had to undergo them. May then this tremendous lesson not pass unheeded by the nations, but enlighten their views of policy and public interest, for the common good of them all!

Necessarily subversive of every principle, and of all morality; the destroyer of law and justice; the sworn enemy to civilization—there can exist neither government nor society where military despotism reigns. Peace without is impossible, because man is governed by his interest, and the thirst of power is interwoven in his nature. Soldiers, therefore, called at first to the honourable task of maintaining the rights of their fellow-citizens, soon forget their mandatory characters, and, aspiring to engross the wealth, honours, and offices of state, do not hesitate in the choice of means. War, above all, is the element they breathe, and hence a military government finds occasion to be for ever at war.

An exclusive preponderance, therefore, of the military profession, is the greatest evil which can befall a state. Crushed beneath the weight of their own power, all conquering nations have been conquered in their turn. And what country has had to feel more than France the weight of this austere truth? That military government, for which she has made such great sacrifices, these splendid conquests, this glory of arms, have led her from victory to victory, to the verge of destruction.

The same deplorable system has made us retro-

La Coste's Narrative.

grade with rapid strides towards the ages of barbarism. Factious legions, as in the periods of anarchy of the Roman Republic, acknowledging no other law than their own will, called to reign over the nations they oppressed, the general who had captivated their choice; or, like the Janissaries of the East, raised and deposed their own despot at their pleasure.

It is highly essential, therefore, that all efforts be combined against this Vandalism, which threatens to replunge us in the gulf of barbarian darkness.— It is now time that order should succeed to anarchy, and the authority of laws to the sway of violence.



LA COSTE'S NARRATIVE ;

[*From a conversation with him in the Public House known by the sign of the Jean de Nivelles.*]

Upon the approach of the French army, on the 17th of June, La Coste retired, with his family, consisting of his wife and seven children, into the wood of the Abbey d'Awyiers, where he passed the night (Saturday;) at six o'clock on Sunday morning he went to church, and from thence to his brother's, who lived at Planchenoit. He met there three French generals, who inquired of him if he had lived in the country a long time, and if he was well acquainted with the environs. Upon his answering

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in the affirmative, one of them sent him to Bonaparte with a letter, and accompanied by a servant.

Bonaparte slept on the 17th of June in a farm called the Caillon, and left it at six next morning. La Coste found him at a farm, named Rossum, where he (Bonaparte) arrived at eight, A. M. and was immediately presented to Bonaparte, who was standing in a room about 20 feet by 16, in the midst a great number of officers of his staff. Bonaparte asked him, if he was well acquainted with the local situation of the country, and if he would be his guide? La Coste having answered him satisfactorily, Bonaparte told him he would accompany him, adding, "Speak frankly with me, my friend, as if you were with your children."

Rossum farm is near La Belle Alliance. The Emperor remained there till mid-day. During this time La Coste was closely watched in the farm-yard by one of the Garde, who, whilst talking with him, informed him of the force of the army (French) and told him, that upon passing the frontiers, they had an army of 150,000 men, of which 40,000 were cavalry, among which were 9000 cuirassiers, 7000 of the new and 8 or 9000 of the old guard. This soldier praised much the bravery displayed by the English at Quatre Bras. He particularly admired the *sang froid* of the Scotch Highlanders, who, says he, in his military style, "*Ne bougeoient, que lors qu' on leur mettait la baionette au derriere.*"

During this time, Bonaparte had La Coste called three different times, to obtain information as to the

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maps of the country, which he constantly consulted. He questioned him chiefly upon the distance of several towns of Brabant from the field of battle, and made him explain those he had seen in his youth. La Coste named fourteen, which appeared to please Bonaparte; he seemed very much satisfied to find that La Coste was Flemish, and that he spoke the language; he advised him, above all, to give only well-authenticated information, and not to answer for things of which he was uncertain, shrugging his shoulders at the same time. He repeated often these instructions, adding, "that if he (Bonaparte) succeeded, his recompense should be a hundred times greater than he could imagine." He dispensed with every particular mark of respect, telling him, that instead of taking off his cap, he need only put his hand to his forehead.

At mid-day, Bonaparte went out with his staff, and placed himself upon a bank on the side of the road, which commanded a view of the field of battle. Shortly afterwards news arrived, that the attack upon the farm and chateau of Hougomont, which he had commenced at eleven o'clock, was unsuccessful.

At one the battle became general; Bonaparte remained in his first station with his staff until five; he was on foot, and constantly walked backwards and forwards, sometimes with his arms crossed, but chiefly behind his back, with his thumbs in the pocket of a dark-coloured great coat; he had his eyes fixed upon the battle, and pulled out his watch

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and snuff-box alternately. La Coste, who was on horseback near him, observed frequently his watch. Bonaparte perceiving that La Coste took snuff, and that he had none, gave him several pinches.

When he found that his attempts to force the position of the chateau of Hougoumont had been made in vain, he took a horse, left the farm of Rossum, at five, P. M. and riding foremost, halted opposite La Coste's house, about one hundred yards from La Belle Alliance. He remained there until seven. At this moment he, by means of a telescope, first perceived the Prussians advance, and communicated it to an aid-de-camp, who, upon turning his spying-glass, saw them also. Some moments after, an officer came to announce that Bulow's corps approached. Bonaparte replied that he knew it well, and gave orders to his guard to attack the centre of the English army; and riding at full gallop in advance, he placed himself with his staff in a hollow made by the road, half-way between La Belle Alliance and Haye Sainte. This was his third and last position.

Bonaparte and his suite ran great risks to reach this hollow: a bullet struck the pommel of the saddle of one of his officers, without touching him or his horse. Bonaparte contented himself by coolly observing, "*that they must remain in this hollow.*"

Here there was on each side of the road a battery, and perceiving that one of the cannons of the left battery did not play well, he dismounted, as-

La Coste's Narrative.

cended the height of the road, advanced to the third piece, and rectified the error, while the bullets were hissing around him.

Whilst in this position, he saw eight battalions of his old guard, to whom he had given orders to force the centre of the English army, advancing upon La Haye Sainte. Three of these battalions were annihilated in his sight, whilst crossing the road, by the firing from the farm and batteries.—Nevertheless, the French made themselves masters of the farm; and the Hanoverians, who occupied it, were obliged to surrender for want of ammunition. To support the foot guards, Bonaparte made his horse guards, composed of eight or nine regiments, advance; he waited the result of this charge with the greatest anxiety; but he saw the flower of his army destroyed in an instant, whilst ascending the hill upon which Haye Sainte is situated. This was his last trial; for on seeing his old guard destroyed he lost all hope, and on turning towards his officers said, “*A present c'est fini, sauvons nous.*” (It is now finished, let us save ourselves.)

It was half-past eight o'clock; and, without pursuing any steps, or giving any orders, and taking all possible care to avoid the Prussians, he, accompanied by his staff, rode off at full gallop to Genappe. In passing before a battery of fourteen guns, that was near the observatory, he ordered that, before they abandoned it to the enemy, they should fire fourteen rounds.

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When we arrived at Genappe, it was half-past nine o'clock, P. M. The only street which forms this village was so encumbered with caissons and cannons, that it required an entire hour to pass them, alongside the houses; all the inhabitants had forsaken their dwellings. There was no other road to take, because the Prussians occupied the left; and there was no other bridge but that of Genappe, by which to pass the river that flowed there.

From Genappe he advanced towards Quatre Bras, hastening his pace, always afraid lest the Prussians should arrive before him; he was more tranquil when he had passed this last place; and when arrived at Gosseley, he even dismounted, and walked the remainder of the road to Charleroi, (about one league.) He traversed Charleroi on horseback for two hours and a half, and stopped in a meadow called Marcenelle, at the other end of the town. There they made a large fire, and brought him two glasses and two bottles of wine, which he drank with his officers. He took no other nourishment. They spread upon the ground a sack of oats, which his horses ate in their bridles. At a quarter before five o'clock, after having taken another guide (to whom he gave the horse that had served La Coste,) he remounted, made a slight bow to La Coste, and rode off. Bertrand gave La Coste, for his services, a *single napoleon*, and disappeared, as also the whole staff, leaving La Coste alone, who was obliged to return home on foot.

La Coste's Narrative.

During the whole time that he was with Bonaparte he was not maltreated, except whilst they were retreating, on their arrival at Quatre Bras; when one of the officers, finding that a second guide which they had with them had escaped, tied the bridle of La Coste's horse to his own saddle, as a precautionary measure.

From the moment that Bonaparte began to retreat, until his arrival in the meadow of Marcenelle, he did not stop, nor did he speak to any one. He had taken no nourishment from the time he left the farm Rossum, and La Coste even thinks he had taken nothing from six in the morning.

The dangers of the battle did not appear to affect him. La Coste, who was greatly agitated through fear, lowered his head frequently on the neck of his horse, to avoid the balls which hissed over his head. Bonaparte appeared displeased at it, and told him that those motions made his officers believe that he was wounded; and also added, that he would not escape the balls more by stooping than by holding himself upright.

During the battle, he often rendered justice to the opposing army; he principally praised the Scotch Greys, and expressed much regret to see them suffer so severely, when they manœuvred so well, and wielded the sword so dexterously.

Until half-past five, P.M. he had the greatest hope of success, and repeated every moment, "All goes well." His generals entertained the same hope—He was perfectly calm, and showed much *sang*

La Coste's Narrative.

froid during the action, without appearing out of humour, and always spoke very mildly to his officers.

He was never in danger of being taken prisoner, being always surrounded ; even in the third station, where he was nearest to the enemy, he had with him 12 pieces of cannon, and 3000 grenadiers of his guard.

He made no use of the observatory which had been constructed for him, six weeks before the battle, by the engineers of Holland.

In his flight he frequently received news from the army, by officers who came up with him in their escape from the pursuit of the allies.

The house of La Coste having served as a bivouac for the French, they burnt all the doors, windows, and wood that they could find. The rent that he paid was one hundred francs. The proprietor, after having repaired it, has let it to another person for one hundred and twenty-five francs. La Coste lives at present at a hamlet, called Soli Bois, situated upon the causeway between Waterloo and Mont St. Jean. He is 53 years of age, was born in the village of Corbeck-loo, near Louvaine, and has inhabited Walloon for 33 years ; he is five feet ten inches high, and of a robust florid complexion ; he is intelligent, understands French very well, and expresses his ideas with great facility.

Before the invasion of Napoleon, La Coste occupied a small alehouse, (*cabaret*,) with about six acres of land.

Marshal Ney's Letter.

*The Prince of Moskwa (Marshal Ney) to his
Excellency the Duke of Otranto.*

M. LE DUC,

The most false and defamatory reports have been spreading for some days over the public mind, upon the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have reported these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; an attempt is made to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Forced to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of one's self, and, above all, to answer calumnies, I address myself to you, sir, as the President of the Provisional Government, for the purpose of laying before you a faithful statement of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the Minister of War to repair to the Imperial presence. I had no command, and no information upon the composition and strength of the army. Neither the Emperor nor his Minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken by surprise, without horses, without accoutrements, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow

Marshal Ney's Letter.

the necessary expenses of my journey. Having arrived on the 12th at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont, I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I repaired, on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aid-de-camp, the only officer who attended me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

The emperor ordered me immediately to put myself at the head of the 1st and 2nd corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant General Pine, of the division of light cavalry of the guard, under the command of Lieutenant Generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of the Count Valmy, forming, in all, eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasnes, Millet, and Hepegnies. There they took up a position for the night, with the exception of the 1st corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me till the following day.

On the 16th I received orders to attack the English in their position at Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing resisted our impetuosity.—The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I in-

Marshal Ney's Letter.

tended to order up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasnes, I learned that the Emperor had disposed of it without informing me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, on purpose to direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was vigorously engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me, confounded me. Having no longer under me more than three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and in spite of all my efforts, in spite of the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, my utmost efforts after that could only maintain me in my position till the close of the day.—About nine o'clock, the first corps was sent me by the Emperor, to whom it had been of no service.—Thus, twenty-five or thirty thousand men were, I may say, paralyzed, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

It is impossible for me, sir, not to arrest your attention for a moment upon these details in order to bring before your view all the consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad arrangements during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the Emperor, instead of leading all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary?—How did the Emperor, after the passage of the

Marshal Ney's Letter.

Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what military men, who were witnesses of it, can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been destroyed between Quatre Bras and Genappe; and this position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have opened for the Emperor an opportunity of advancing to the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the Emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered otherwise.

On the 17th, the army marched in the direction of Mont St. Jean.

On the 18th, the battle began at one o'clock, and though the bulletin which details it makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to mention that I was engaged in it. Lieut. General Count Drouet has already spoken of that battle in the House of Peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to declare. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most frightful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labe-



Marshal Ney's Letter.

doyere came to me with a message from the Emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they experienced. Immediately after, what was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support us, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians had attacked our extreme right, and forced it to retire.

Whether the Emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the Marshal could support him, or whether the march of the Marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy, longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard, conducted by the Emperor, arriving. With these troops, he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy.—He ordered me to lead them on; generals, officers, and soldiers, all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak to resist, for a long time, the forces opposed to it by the enemy;

Marshal Ney's Letter.

and it was soon necessary to renounce the hope which this attack had, for a few moments, inspired. General Friant had been struck with a ball by my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who will return from this terrible battle, will, I hope, do me the justice to say, that they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I only quitted the scene of carnage among the last, and at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly retired; the English advanced in their turn. There remained to us still four squares of the old guard to protect the retreat. These brave grenadiers, the choice of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, till overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost entirely annihilated.— From that moment, a retrograde movement was declared, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *sauve qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot, having all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night, I found Lieutenant General Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity

Marshal Ney's Letter.

to give me the only horse that remained to him.— In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the Emperor, who, before the end of the battle, had entirely disappeared; and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the Emperor was at Charleroi, I was led to suppose that his Majesty was going to put himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying towards Avesnes, and with this persuasion I went to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following on too near, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Phillippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence of what had become of the Emperor.

In this state of matters, having no knowledge of his Majesty, nor of the Major-General, confusion increasing every moment, and with the exception of some fragments of regiments of the guard and of the line, every one following his own inclination, I determined immediately to go to Paris by St. Quentin, to disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the Minister of War, that he might send to the army some fresh troops, and take the

Marshal Ney's Letter.

measures which circumstances rendered necessary. On my arrival at Bouget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the Emperor had passed that place at nine o'clock in the morning.

Such, M. le Duc, is the history of the calamitous campaign.

Now I ask those who have survived this fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which your military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I, who to serve it, have shown a zeal which I perhaps have carried to an extravagant height: but this calumny is supported by no fact, by no circumstance. But how can these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, be arrested? If, in the researches which I could make on this subject, I did not fear almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I would say, that all was a tendency to convince that I have been unworthily deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, with the pretence of treason, the faults and extravagances of this campaign; faults which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I in vain raised that voice of truth, which I will yet cause to resound in the House of Peers. I expect, from the candour of your Excellency, and from your indulgence to me, that you will cause this letter to be inserted in the journal, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

MARSHAL PRINCE OF MOSKWA.

Paris, June 26, 1815.

List of regiments under the Duke of Wellington.

List of Regiments under the command of Field Marshal DUKE OF WELLINGTON, on Sunday, June 18, 1815; and the total loss of the British and Hanoverians, from June 16th to 26th, 1815. To which is added, the computed losses of the Dutch and Prussians, during the campaign in the Netherlands.

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wou.	Mis.	Kill'd.	Wou.	Mis.	Total.
General Staff - - - - -	12	46	3				61
1st Life Guards - - - - -	2	4		24	49	4	83
2nd Life Guards - - - - -	1		1	16	40	97	155
Royal Horse Guards, Blue -	1	4	1	19	61	20	106
1st Dragoon Guards - - -	3	4	4	40	100	124	275
2nd Dragoon Guards - - -							
1st, or Royal Dragoons - -	4	9	1	86	88	9	197
2nd, or Royal N. B. Dragoons	6	8		96	89		199
6th Dragoons - - - - -	1	5	1	72	111	27	217
7th Hussars - - - - -		7	3	62	109	15	196
10th Hussars - - - - -	2	6		20	40	26	94
11th Light Dragoons - - -	2	5		10	34	25	76
12th Light Dragoons - - -	2	3		45	61		111
13th Light Dragoons - - -	1	9		11	69	19	109
15th Hussars - - - - -	2	3		21	48	5	79
16th Light Dragoons - - -	2	4		8	18		32
18th Hussars - - - - -		2		13	72	17	104
23d Light Dragoons - - -		5	1	14	26	33	79
1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.	3	11		30	99	10	153
2nd Ditto - - - - -	2	4		19	54	3	82
1st Hussars, ditto - - -		1		1	5	3	10
2nd Ditto, ditto - - -							
3d Ditto, ditto - - - -	4	8		40	78		130
Royal Artillery - - - - -	5	26		62	228	10	331
Ditto, K. G. L. - - - - -							
Royal Engineers - - - - -		2					2
Royal Staff Corps - - -		2					2
Royal Sappers and Miners -		1			2		3
1st Foot Guards - - - - -							
Ditto, 2nd Battalion - - -	3	9		73	353		438
Ditto, 3d Battalion - - -	4	12		101	487		604
2nd Coldstream Regiment -	1	7		54	242	4	308
3d Foot Guards, 2nd Battal.	3	9		39	195		246
1st Foot, (Rl. Scots) 3d Batt.	8	26		33	295		362
4th Foot, 1st Battalion - -		9		12	113		134
Ditto, 2nd Battalion - - -							
7th Foot, 1st Battalion - -							
14th Foot, 3d Battalion - -		3		7	26		36
23d Foot - - - - -	5	6		13	80		104
25th Foot, 2nd Battalion -							

List of regiments under the Duke of Wellington.

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wou.	Miss.	Kill'd.	Wou.	Miss.	Total.
27th Foot, 1st Battalion - -	2	13		103	360		478
28th Foot, 1st Battalion - -	1	19		29	203		252
29th Foot, 1st Battalion - -							
30th Foot, 1st Battalion - -	6	14		51	181	27	279
32nd Foot - - - - -	1	30		49	290		370
33rd Foot - - - - -	5	17		49	162	58	291
35th Foot - - - - -				1			1
37th Foot, 2nd Battalion -							
40th Foot, 1st Battalion -	2	10		30	159	18	219
42nd Foot, 1st Battalion -	3	21		47	266		337
44th Foot, 2nd Battalion -	2	18		14	151	17	202
51st Foot, - - - - -		2		11	29		42
52nd Foot, 1st Battalion -	1	8		16	174		199
54th Foot - - - - -				2	2		4
59th Foot - - - - -					2		2
69th Foot, 2nd Battalion -	4	7		51	163	15	240
71st Foot, 1st Battalion -	1	14		24	160	3	202
73rd Foot, 2nd Battalion -	6	16		54	219	41	336
78th Foot, 2nd Battalion -							
79th Foot, 1st Battalion -	3	27	1	57	390	1	479
81st Foot, 2nd Battalion -							
91st Foot - - - - -		2		1	6		9
92nd Foot - - - - -	4	27		49	322		402
95th Foot, 1st Battalion -	2	15		28	175		220
95th Foot, 2nd Battalion -		14		34	178	20	246
95th Foot, 3d Battalion -		4		3	36	7	50
13th Veteran Battalion - -							
1st Lt. Infantry Batt. K.G.L.	4	9		37	82	13	145
2nd Ditto ditto - -	3	9	1	40	120	29	202
1st Line Battalion, K. G. L.	1	6		22	69	17	115
2nd Ditto ditto	1	2		18	79	7	107
3rd Ditto ditto	1	5		17	93	31	147
4th Ditto ditto	1	7		13	77	15	113
5th Ditto ditto	2	3		36	47	74	162
8th Ditto ditto	3	4		44	80	16	147
THE DUTCH LOSS -	27	115		2038	1936		4136
THE PRUSSIAN LOSS.							
1st Corps, June 15 to July 3	38	200	27	2418	5322	6434	14439
2nd Corps, June 15 to 23	29	151	7	1280	3915	2234	7616
3d Corps, June 15 to July 3	16	107	2	834	2636	1129	4724
4th Corps, June 15 to 23	23	143	5	1132	3871	1174	5353
Total Prussian Loss							33132

CHAPTER IX.

General remarks—Thanks of both Houses of Parliament to the Duke of Wellington and the British army—Honours and rewards conferred—Order of the Legion of Honour described—A walk over the field of Waterloo—Affecting description thereof—Bonaparte after the battle—Effect of his disastrous defeat on the Parisians—Advance of the English and Prussians into France—Cambray taken—The armies approach Paris—Its capitulation—Reception of Bonaparte at Paris—His abdication, &c.

HAVING now presented to the reader the whole of the particulars necessary to give the fullest idea of the most sanguinary contest ever maintained, we shall only trouble him with a few remarks on the subject, which naturally result, before we proceed with a regular detail of the subsequent occurrences promised ; at the same time, we must confess our incapacity to do such a subject justice. There is a pitch of activity of mind, excited by the important results of the battle of Waterloo, which overpowers language, and leaves infinitely more for the reader's sensibility and reflection than can be described. There is a rush in the tide of success which produces a vague but serious impression, akin to alarm, occasioned by the faculties finding themselves at a loss. The demolition of what appeared so strong and formidable—the triumph of what was so beset with difficulties, which we have

General Remarks.

witnessed, produce to the senses the air of a stupendous phenomenon. Amidst this union of violence and rapidity, we are carried on, and we feel ourselves the objects of some over-ruling influence. The interval has been so small since Bonaparte declared himself impregnable in French feeling and power—since we heard of armies on armies collected to support his usurpation—since we were dazzled with oath-taking ceremonials, and the imposing spectacle of a throne, the steps of which were crowded with devoted children;—that, now, when we find this man stripped, and rendered destitute by one blow,—his all-confident and boasting soldiery scattered and dispersed by one encounter,—and the beautiful and invincible France laid entirely open, defenceless and impotent by one defeat,—we contemplate in wonder, and can scarcely admit the conviction of its reality.

In the same space of time, what country in Europe could have experienced the same disgrace and humiliation, from such a previous boasting and all-confident situation—but France? And in the same space of time, by what country could such a reverse have been effected? Under all the circumstances, we believe it may with truth be said, without any violation of generosity—by no other country than England.

In the grand result, the French have *felt*, the world has seen, and future ages will know, that England's sons are best in the fight, and that they are capable of the mightiest exertions of every

General Remarks.

kind, and that their country alone has held out without faltering, and in these times of misfortune she alone has entirely escaped degradation; and, while she has assisted all others, has held her own head high without assistance.

It is but a few years since the despotic tyrant, the late arrogant ruler of France, boasted that he would invade this country—scatter its armies—march his victorious troop into its capital—and dethrone its monarch. How justly have his threats recoiled upon himself! England has fully answered him—not in high-sounding empty boasting—not by words, but by deeds.—His country is invaded—his armies are scattered—the victorious troops of England are in his capital—he himself dethroned—and, instead of a conqueror, comes an abject suppliant to our shores for protection.

Our enemy has now experienced the superiority of England in every way. All his measures have been avowedly directed to the ruin of this country: he has tried to affect it at sea—on shore—singly—and by alliances; he has tried to affect it by commercial—financial—and *sentimental* means. We have destroyed him at sea—beaten him on shore—repelled him singly—and have conquered him with our allies. We have tired him out of his anti-commercial system—our finances have triumphed without any breach of faith to our creditors—and we have exposed the meanness and falsehood of his *sentiments*.

General Remarks.

Lastly, in one great battle—England, away from her own shores, has, in the teeth of superior numbers, beaten the collected might of France on her own frontier, headed by an Imperial General, whose superiority over all captains, ancient or modern, the public voice of France has asserted and sworn, in prose and poetry, in harangues and writings—in insolence, in perfidy, and falsehood. In one battle, England has dealt to France a blow that has gone to her heart, and sent her reeling and tumbling backward on a throne, which she had sworn to defend to the last drop of her blood. This throne has tumbled down like rotten wood; her soldiers have disappeared, like the smoke of her cannon, after the prodigious noise they made; and, between her frontier and the neighbourhood of her capital, scarcely an arm has been raised to preserve the “fine country”—to vindicate the honour of the “great nation”—to fulfil the “destiny” which had “decreed France to be the Queen of the West.”

It is to the consummate skill of the inimitable Wellington—to the bravery of his army—to our gallant countrymen, that we are indebted for our preservation—our very existence as a nation—our dearest liberties and independence! What heart does not swell with gratitude to that gallant army, by whose heroic valour their country has been raised to the highest pitch of glory? Who can retrace their victorious achievements on the burning sands of Egypt, and the sheltered shores of Italy—on the mountains of Portugal—the plains of Spain—amidst

General Remarks.

the rocks of the Pyrenees—the fields of Flanders, and the valleys of France? Who can think of the glorious exploits of Britons—at Alexandria—at Maida—at Vimiera—at Corunna—at Talavera—at Barossa—at Albuera—at Salamanca—at Vittoria—at Orthes—on the Pyrenees—at Toulouse—and, finally, at Waterloo, without priding himself in the name of an Englishman? If the 18th of June was a day of glory, it was likewise a day of sorrow for Britain; if we triumph in it as the proudest, we must also mourn it as the most bloody of all the battles that she has fought or won. While we exult in its important results, it will be impossible to forget that the rich blood of our brave countrymen has paid the purchase of peace to Europe, and restored to the world security and independence.

Such mighty triumphs must be purchas'd dear,
And on her laurels Victory drops a tear.
The sweetest tribute to the fallen brave
Are soldiers' sorrows—on a soldier's grave!
The blood that's shed gives every bosom pain,
With this solace—it is not shed in vain:
For to their noble death their country owes
Her high renown, and Europe her repose.
On lofty columns of eternal fame,
Shall British gratitude record each name;
There shall each sister isle behold
Her gallant sons immortaliz'd in gold;
But deeper far, eternally imprest,
Shall live their memory in the patriot breast!

The unanimous resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, of which the following is the substance,

 Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

will serve in some measure to exhibit the feelings of the nation ; though it is impossible fully to express the gratitude by which it is inspired.

WATERLOO HONOURS, PRIVILEGES, &c.*

Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, given to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blucher, and the Officers and Soldiers of the Allied Armies, June 23d.

RESOLVED, *Nemine Contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour, dis-

* Whilst recording the honours conferred upon officers in the British army, it may amuse our readers to present them with an account of the Legion of Honour.

After the decree of the 4th Nivose, year 8, the grenadiers and soldiers who distinguished themselves by brilliant actions received fusees of honour mounted with silver. The drummers received drumsticks of honour, mounted with silver. The soldiers of the cavalry, musketoons or carbines of honour, mounted in silver ; and the trumpeters, silver trumpets of honour. These fusees, drumsticks, &c. bore an inscription, containing the names of the soldiers to whom they were granted, and the action for which they had obtained them. Every military having obtained one of these recompenses, enjoyed 5 centimes extra pay per day.

The soldier who took a stand of colours from the enemy, made prisoner a superior officer, arrived the first to take possession of a piece of cannon, had a right, according to the nature of his services, to the above recompenses.

Account of the Legion of Honour.

played by him on the 18th of June, on which day the decisive victory over the enemy, commanded by Bonaparte in person, was obtained by his Grace, with the allied troops under his command, and in conjunction with the troops under the command of

Sabres of honour were granted to officers and soldiers who distinguished themselves by actions of extraordinary valour, or who rendered services extremely important. Every military, having obtained a sabre of honour, enjoyed double pay. Such was the mode of recompense decreed to the military who had distinguished themselves, until the establishment of the Legion of Honour was created by the law of the 29th Floreal, year 10.

This legion is composed of a grand council of administration, and of sixteen cohorts, each of which has its particular chief place. The emperor is, of right, chief of the legion, and president of the grand council of administration. Each cohort is composed of seven grand officers, having a salary of 5000 francs; twenty commandants at 2000 francs; thirty officers at 1000 francs; three hundred and fifty legionaries at 250 francs. These stipends are levied on the estates attached to each cohort. The members of the Legion of Honour are so for life. The grand council of administration names the members of the legion. All the military who have received arms of honour are members of the legion.—The military who have rendered essential services to the state; the citizens who, by their knowledge, their talents, or their virtue, have contributed to establish or defend the principles of government; have caused justice and the public administration to be loved and respected, may be ranked members of the Legion of Honour. The military of every degree, members of the Legion of Honour, are divided into sixteen cohorts, conformable to the tables annexed to the decree of the 27th Messidor, year 10.

Every individual admitted into the Legion of Honour, swears upon his honour to devote himself to the service of the state.

The decoration of the members of the Legion of Honour. con-

Account of the Legion of Honour.

Marshal Prince Blucher, whereby the military glory of the British nation has been exalted, and the territory of his Majesty's ally, the King of the Netherlands, has been protected from invasion and spoil.

sists of a star of five double rays, the centre of the star surrounded by a wreath of oak and laurel, represents the head of the emperor with this inscription,—“ *Napoleon, Empereur des Français,*” and on the reverse the French eagle holding the thunderbolts, with the words, “ *Honneur et Patrie.*” The decoration is enamelled in white: it is of gold for the grand officers, the commandants and officers, and in silver for the legionaries, and attached to one of the button holes of the dress, by a waved red ribbon. The members of the legion ought to wear their decoration at all times. The grand decoration of the Legion of Honour consists of a red ribbon, passing from the right shoulder to the left side, to the end of which is attached the eagle of the legion, by a waved red ribbon; and a plate of embroidery, in silver (on the left side of the mantle or habit,) composed of ten rays, in the middle of which is the eagle of the legion, with these words, *Honneur et Patrie.* This decoration is only conferred by the emperor on the grand officers, the number of whom cannot exceed sixty.

The members of the Legion of Honour have the title of chevalier. This title is transmissible to their descendants direct and legitimate, natural and adoptive, from male to male, according to the order of progenitor; but, in order to obtain letters of transmission, it is necessary to prove to the arch-chancellor of the empire, the possession of a net revenue of at least 3000 francs.

The military, members of the Legion of Honour, have a right to be admitted into the military colleges established in the residence of the chief places of the cohorts. These military are received, in virtue of the authority of the grand council; they are lodged there, boarded and clothed at the cost of the college, by

Account of the Legion of Honour.

RESOLVED, *Nem. Con.* That the thanks of this House be given to General His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath; Lieut. Generals the Earl of Uxbridge, K. G. C. B.; Lord

the means of the payment made to the chest of the cohort, of the sum total of the pensions to which these military have a right.—The legionaries admitted into the colleges of the cohorts, have the liberty of leaving them when they think proper; they then enjoy the pensions formerly granted them; but during their residence at the college, they receive only the pay appropriated to each rank by the regulations concerning the Hotel des Invalids (an establishment somewhat similar to Chelsea College,) instituted by Louis XIV. 1670. The building is at the extremity of the fauxburgh of St. Germain in Paris.

With respect to the legionaries domiciled in the district of the cohorts, retired from the effective army, not admitted to the college, and not employed in any civil function; it has been proposed for each of them a gratification of 150 francs. This gratification is increased.—1st. By one franc for every year forming the age of the legionary, to be counted from the 30th year, inclusively. 2ndly, By 30 francs if he is married, or a widower with children. 3dly, By 20 francs for every ascendant or descendant maintained by him. The totallity of this gratification is further augmented. 1st, By one dixieme (the tenth of a franc) if the legionary lives in a town of which the population is less than 5000 inhabitants. 2ndly, By two dixiemes, in the towns of which the population is 5000, or above, to 15,000 exclusively. 3dly, By three dixiemes, if he lives in a town of which the population is 15,000, or above, to 20,000 exclusively. 4thly, By four dixiemes, if he lives in a town of which the population is 20,000, or above, to 50,000, exclusively. 5thly, By five dixiemes, if he lives in a town of which the population is 50,000, or above, to 100,000 exclusively. 6thly,

Account of the Legion of Honour.

Hill, K. G. C. B. ; Sir Henry Clinton, K. G. C. B. ; Charles Baron Alten, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath ; Major Generals Sir Henry Hinuber, K. C. B. ; Sir John Ormsby Vandeleur, K. C. B. ; George Cooke, Sir James Kempt, K. C. B. ; Sir William Dornbeg, K. C. B. ; Sir Edward Barnes, K. C. B. ; Sir

By six dixiemes, if he lives in a town of which the population is 100,000, or over.

If the legionary has a stipend of retirement, or a personal and fixed revenue, the gratification is diminished by a sum equal to the total of that stipend of retirement and personal revenue, added together. All the members of the cohort are paid at the end of every three months, by the treasurer of the cohort, on the abstracts of review, delivered by the inspectors (or muster-masters) and on the certificates of life, examined by the chancellor of the cohort. The quality of a member of the Legion of Honour is lost by the same causes, as those by which the quality of a French citizen is lost, conformable to the 4th article of the constitution. The exercise of the rights and prerogatives of a member of the Legion of Honour, may be suspended by the same cause as those which suspend the rights of a French citizen. No infamous punishment can be executed on a legionary, until he has been degraded. For this degradation the president of the tribunal, or the president of the council of war, on the requisition of the reporter, pronounces, immediately after the reading of the sentence, the following formula :—" You have behaved dishonourably ; I declare, in the name of the legion, that you have ceased to be a member of it." The breaking of a legionary non-commissioned officer, and the degradation of a legionary soldier, cannot take place without the authority of the minister of war, nor can he give that authority, until he has informed the grand chancellor who takes the orders of the chief of the legion.

Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

John Byng, K. C. B.; Sir Denis Pack, K. C. B.; Lord Edward Somerset, K. C. B.; Sir John Lambert, K. C. B.; Sir Colquhoun Grant, K. C. B.; Peregrine Maitland, Sir Colin Halkett, K. C. B.; Frederick Adam, Sir R. H. Vivian, K. C. B.; and to the several officers under their command, for their indefatigable zeal and exertions upon the 18th of June.

RESOLVED, *Nem. Con.* That this House doth acknowledge, and highly approve, the distinguished valour and discipline displayed by the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of his Majesty's Forces, serving under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, in the glorious victory obtained upon the 18th of June: and that the same be signified to them by the commanding officers of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant and exemplary behaviour.

RESOLVED, *Nem. Con.* That the thanks of this House be given to the general officers, officers, and men, of the Allied Forces, serving under the immediate command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, for the distinguished valour and intrepidity displayed by them on the 18th of June, and that his Grace the Duke of Wellington be desired to signify the same to them accordingly.

RESOLVED, *Nem. Con.* That the thanks of this House be given to Marshal Prince Blucher, and the Prussian Army, for the cordial and timely assist-

Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

ance afforded by them on the 18th of June, to which the successful result of that arduous day is so mainly to be attributed; and that his Grace the Duke of Wellington be desired to convey to them the resolution.

Whitehall, June 23.—The Prince Regent has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, unto Lieutenant General Henry William, Earl of Uxbridge, Knight Grand Cross of the most Honourable and Military Order of the Bath, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Marquis of Anglesea.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to nominate and appoint Major General Sir James Kempt, K. C. B. to be Knight Grand Cross of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, vice Lieut. General Sir T. Picton, deceased.

His Royal Highness has also been pleased to nominate and appoint the following Officers to be Knights Commanders of the said order :

Major General G. Cook, vice Major General Sir R. R. Gillespie; Major Gen. Maitland, vice Major General Sir W. Ponsonby, deceased; Major General F. Adam, vice Major General Sir J. Kempt.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has further been pleased to nominate and appoint the undermentioned officers to be Companions of the said Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, upon the

 Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

recommendation of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, for their services in the battles fought upon the 16th and 18th of June last.

A

Lieut. Col. John Campbell, 42 F.

*Col. Honble. A. Abercromby, Lieut. Col. W. Campbell, 23 F.

Cold. Guards Lieut. Col. Edw. Cheney, 2 Dr.

Lieut. Col. Stephen G. Adye, Lieut. Col. Isa. B. Clarke, 2 Dr.

Royal Art. Lieut. Col. A. B. Clifton, 1 Dr.

Lie. Col. L. Arquimbeau, 1st F. Lieut. Col. G. Colquitt, 1 F. G.

*Col. Hen. Askew, 1st F. Gds. Lieut. Col. R.H. Cooke, 1 F. G.

B

Lieut. Col. J. M. Cutliffe, 23 Dr.

Lieut. Col. N. W. Bailey, 30 F. D

Lieut. Col. G. Baring, 2 Light Lieut. Col. T. Dalmer, 23 F.

In. K. G. L. Lieut. Col. L. C. Dalrymple,

Lieut. Col. C. Beckwith, 95 F. 15 Light Dragoons

Lieut. Col. S. Boyce, 13 Lt. D. Major the Honourable George

Major F. Breymann, 8 Line, K. Dawson, 1 Dragoon Guards

G. L. *Lieut. Col. R. H. Dick, 42 F.

Lieut. Col. Jas. P. Bridger, 12 Lieut. Col. Philip Dorville, 1 D.

Light Dragoons *Lieut. Col. Neil Douglas, 79 F.

*Lieut. Col. F. Brooke, 4 Ft. Major Percy Drummond, R. A.

Lieut. Col. A. Brown, 79 Ft. E

Lieut. Col. F. Browne, 40 Ft. Lieut. Col. W. K. Elphinstone,

Lieut. Col. R. Bull, Royal Art. 33 F.

*Lieut. Col. J. Baron Bulow, 1st F

Light Dragoons, K. G. L. Lieut. Col. G. Fead, 1 F. G.

Lieut. Col. De Lancey Barclay Lieut. Col. J. Fremantle, Cold G.

1st Foot Guards Major J. Fullarton, 95 F.

Lieut. Col. Hans Baron Bussche G

1st Lt. In. K. G. L. Lieut. Col. C. Gold, Royal Art.

C

*Lieut. Col. L. Grenock, Per-

Lieut. Col. A. Cameron, 95 F. manent Assist. Q. M. Gen.

Lieut. Col. D. Cameron, 79 F. H

*Lieut. Col. C. Campbell, 1 F. Lieut. Col. A. Hamilton, 30 F.

Lieut. Col. Sir Guy Campbell, Lieut. Col. J. M. Hammerton,

Bt. 6 F. 44 F.

 Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

- Lieut. Col. John Hare, 27 F. Lieut. Col. A. Macdonald, R. A.
 Col. Hon. W. G. Harris, 73 F. Lieut. Col. Donald Macdonald,
 *Lieut. Col. Frederic Hartwig, 92 F.
 1 L. I. K. G. L. Major R. Macdonald, 1 F.
 *Lieut. Col. Jas. Hays 16 L. D. Lieut. Col. Lord R. Manners,
 Major Aug. Heise, 2 Lt. Infan. 10 D.
 Batt. K. G. L. Lieut. Col. D. Mercer, 3 Ft. G.
 *Col. F. Hepburne, 3 F. G. Lieut. Col. F. S. Miller, 6 Dr.
 *Col. F. B. Hervey, 14 Lt. D. Lieut. Col. Geo. Miller, 95 F.
 *Lieut. Col. John Hicks, 32 F. *Col. H. H. Mitchell, 51 F.
 Lieut. Col. Sir R.C. Hill, Royal Lieut. Col. Jas. Mitchell, 92 F.
 H. G. Lieut. Col. A. Money, 11 Lt. D.
 Major Sir George Hoste, Knt. Lieut. Col. George Muller, 2 L.
 Royal En. Batt. K. G. L.
 J Lieut. Col. Hon. Henry Murray,
 Major John Jessopp, 44 F. 18 D.
 Lieut. Col. C. de Jonquieres, 2 Lieut. Col. George H. Murray,
 Lt. D. K. G. L. 16 Lt. D.
 K Col. Joseph Muter, 6 D.
 Maj. H. Kuhlmann, Art.K.G.L. Lieut. Col. G. Muttlebury, 69 F.
 Lieut.Col. Dawson Kelly, 73 F. N
 *Col. Sir Edw. Kerrison, Knt. Col. W. Nicolay, Royal Staff
 7 Lt. D. Corps
 Lieut. Col. John T. Keyt, 51 F. Lieut. Col. Robert Nixon, 28 F.
 L Lieut. Col. Amos G. Norcott,
 Lieut.Col. P.A. Latour, 23 L.D. 95 F.
 Lieut.Col. Jonath. Leach, 95 F. O
 Lieut.Col. W. Baron Linsingen, Lieut. Col. G. O'Malley, 44 F.
 5 L. B. K. G. L. P
 Lieut. Col. R. Llewellyn, 28 F. Lieut. Col. John Parker, R. A.
 Lieut. Col. Frederic de Lutter- Lieut. Col. Hon. H. Percy, 14
 man, 3 L. K. G. L. Lt. D.
 Lieut. Col. Hon. E. P. Lygon, Lieut. Col. C. de Petersdorff, 8
 2 Life G. L. K. G. L.
 M Col. Hon. F. C. Ponsonby, 12
 Lieut. Col. James Macdonnell, L. D.
 Cold. G.

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Q

Col. Geo. Quentin, 10 Lt. D.

R

Lieut. Col. Frederick Reh, 4. L.

K. G. L.

Lieut. Col. A. Baron Reitzin-
stein, 1 L. D. K. G. L.

Col. Thomas Reynell, 71 F.

Lieut. Col. Samuel Rice, 51 F.

Lieut. Col. Frederick de Robert-
son, 1 L. Batt K. G. L.

Major Thos Rogers, Royal Art.

Lieut. Col. Hen. W. Rooke, 3
F. G.

*Lieut. Col. John Ross, 95 F.

*Lieut. Col. Chas. Rowan, 52 F.

S

Lieut. Col. Lord Saltoun, 1 F. G.

Lieut. Col. James W. Sleigh, 11
Lt. Dr.*Lieut. Col. J. W. Smith, Royal
Art.Lieut. Col. Hen. G. Smith, 95 F.
Col. Jas. C. Smyth, Royal Eng.Lieut. Col. W. Stavelly, Royal
Staff C.

*Col. Hon. W. Stuart, 1 F. G.

Lieut. Col. A. Symper, Art.
K. G. L.

T

Lieut. Col. F. S. Tidy, 14 F.

Lieut. Col. R. Torrens, 1 West
India R.

Lieut. Col. Baron Tripp, 60 F.

V

*Lieut. Col. C. A. Vigoureaux,
30 F.

W

Major L. Walker, 71 F.

*Lieut. Col. Jno. Waters, Assist.

A. G.

Lieut. Col. J. S. Williamson,
Royal A.

Lieut. Col. G. D. Wilson, 4 F.

Lieut. Col. Fred. de Wissell, 5
Line B. K. G. L.Lieut. Col. Aug. de Wissel, 1
Hussars, K. G. L.

Col. Sir George A. Wood, Knt.

R. A.

*Col. A. G. Woodford, Cold. G.

Lieut. Col. Alex. C. Willy, 7 F.

*Address for a National Monument and Monuments
to Officers, who fell in the Battle of Waterloo.
June 29th, 1815.*

RESOLVED, *Nemine Contradicente*, That an
humble address be presented to his Royal Highness
the Prince Regent, that he will be graciously pleas-
ed to give directions, that a national monument be

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erected in honour of the splendid victory of Waterloo, and to commemorate the fame of the Officers and Men of the British army, who fell gloriously upon the 16th and 18th of the present month; and more particularly of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major General the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby; and that Funeral Monuments be also erected in memory of each of those two Officers, in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, London; and to assure his Royal Highness, that this House will make good the expense attending the same.*

War Office, July 24, 1815.

The Prince Regent, as a mark of his approbation of the distinguished bravery and good conduct of the 1st and 2nd Life Guards at the battle of Waterloo, on the 18th ult. is pleased to declare himself Colonel in Chief of both the regiments of Life Guards.

War Office, July 25, 1815.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve of all the British regiments of cavalry and infantry that were engaged in the battle of Waterloo, being permitted to bear on their colours and appointments, in addition to any other

* Two monuments, the cost of which will be £300,000, are to be erected to commemorate the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo; the former in Greenwich Park, and the latter in the Regent's Park, Mary-le-bone.

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badges or devices that may have heretofore been granted to those regiments, the word "Waterloo," in commemoration of their distinguished services, on the 18th of June, 1815.

War Office, July 29, 1815.

The Prince Regent, as a mark of his Royal approbation of the distinguished gallantry of the brigade of Foot Guards in the victory of Waterloo, has been pleased, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve of all the Ensigns of the three regiments of Foot Guards having the rank of Lieutenants, and that such rank shall be attached to all the future appointments to Ensancies in the Foot Guards, in the same manner as the Lieutenants of those regiments obtain the rank of Captain.

His Royal Highness has been pleased to approve of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards being made a regiment of Grenadiers, and styled, "The 1st, or Grenadier regiment of Foot Guards," in commemoration of their having defeated the Grenadiers of the French Imperial Guards upon the memorable occasion.

War Office, July 31, 1815.

SIR,—The Prince Regent having taken into his most gracious consideration, the distinguished gallantry manifested upon all occasions by the Orders of the British Army, and having more particularly adverted to the conspicuous valour displayed by them in the late glorious victory, gained near Waterloo, by the army under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington; and His Royal

Waterloo honours, privileges, &c.

Highness being desirous of testifying the strong sense entertained by him of their devotion to his Majesty's service, I have the honour to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness has been pleased to order;

1st, That the regulation under which pensions are granted to wounded officers, shall be revised, and that the pensions which have been, or may be granted to wounded officers, for the actual loss of eye or limb, or for wounds certified to be equally injurious with the loss of limbs, shall not be confined to the amount attached by the scale to the rank which the officer held at the time when he was wounded, but shall progressively increase, according to the rank to which such officer may, from time to time, be promoted; the augmentation, with regard to the pensions of such officers, now upon the list, being to take the date from the 18th of June, 1815, inclusive.

2ndly, That every subaltern officer of infantry of the line, who served in the battle of Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceeded it, shall be allowed to account two years' service in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay given to lieutenants of seven years' standing; and every such subaltern will therefore be entitled to the additional 1s. a day whenever he shall have served five years as a lieutenant.

And, 3dly, That this regulation shall be extended to every subaltern of cavalry, and to every ensign of the Foot Guards, who served in the above-men-

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tioned actions; and every such Subaltern and Ensign will, therefore, be entitled to an additional shilling a day, after five years' service as Lieutenant in the cavalry or as Ensign in the Guards.

His Royal Highness being also desirous of marking his sense of the distinguished bravery displayed by the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the British forces, in the victory of Waterloo, has been most graciously pleased to order, that henceforth every non-commissioned officer, trumpeter, drummer, and private man, who served in the battle of Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceeded, shall be borne upon the muster rolls, and pay lists of their respective corps as "Waterloo Men;" and that every "Waterloo Man" shall be allowed to count two years' service in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged.

It is, however, to be distinctly understood, that this indulgence is not intended in any other manner to affect the conditions of that original enlistment, or to give them any right to their discharge before the expiration of the period for which they have engaged to serve.

The Duke of Wellington has been requested to transmit returns of the Subaltern Officers, to whom these orders may be considered by his Grace to apply; together with accurate muster rolls containing the names of all the "Waterloo Men" in each corps; such muster rolls being to be preserved in this Office as a record honourable to the individuals

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themselves, and as documents by which they will at any future time be enabled to establish their claims to the benefits of this regulation.

I have great pleasure in communicating these instances of the Prince Regent's gracious consideration for the army; and I request that you will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of announcing the same to the Officers and Men of the corps under your command.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

The Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to grant promotion to the following Majors and Captains, recommended for Brevet Rank, for their conduct in the Battle of Waterloo:

Commissions to be dated June 18th, 1815.

To be **LIEUTENANT COLONELS** in the Army, viz.

Maj. Fred. Reh, 4 L. K. G. L.	Maj. Robert Bull, R. A.
Maj. Edw. Parkinson, 33d Ft.	Maj. Edward Cheney, 1 Dr.
Maj. Fredk. de Lutterman, 3 L.	Maj. Richard Llewellyn, 28 F.
K. G. L.	Maj. Augustus Fredericks, 2 L.
Maj. Hans Baron Bussche, 1 L.	D. K. G. L.
B. ditto	Maj. Donald M'Donald, 92 F.
Maj. Fredk. de Robertson, 1 L.	Maj. J. P. Bridger, 12 L. D.
ditto	Maj. George Home Murray, 16
Maj. Philip Baron Gruben, 1 H.	L. D.
ditto	Maj. Willm. Thornhill, 7 L. D.
Maj. Geo. Krauchenberg, 3 H.	Maj. J. Lewis Watson, 69 F.
ditto	Maj. Aug. Baron Reitzenstein, 1
Maj. Thos. Hunter Blair, 91 Ft.	L. D. K. G. L.
Maj. Dawson Kelly, 73 Foot.	Maj. John Hare, 27 F.

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Maj. George Baring, 2nd L. I.	Maj. James Bouchier, 11 L. D.
K. G. L.	Maj. James Grant, 18 L. D.
Maj. Jonathon Leach, 95 F.	Maj. Brook Lawrence, 13 L. D.
Maj. Peter Brown, 23 F.	Maj. John Thomas Keyts, 51 F.
Maj. Thomas F. Wade, 42 F.	Maj. Augustus Sympher, Artil.
Maj. Francis Dalmer, 23 F.	K. G. L.
Maj. Richard Egerton, 34 F.	Maj. Charles C. Ratclyffe, 1 D.
Maj. William Chalmers, 52 F.	Maj. Fielding Brown, 40 Ft.
Maj. John M'Curliffe, 23 L. D.	Maj. Thos. W. Taylor, 10 L. D.
Maj. John Parker, R. A.	Maj. L. Arquimbeau, 1 F.
Maj. C. H. Churchill, 1 G.	Maj. Mich. Childers, 11 L. D.
Maj. George D. Wilson, 4 F.	Maj. Hen. Geo. Smith, 95 F.
Maj. John Keightley, 14 F.	Maj. Felix Calvert, 32 F.
Maj. George Miller, 95 F.	Maj. William Stavely, Rl. Staff
Maj. Charles Beckwith, 95 F.	Corps
Maj. John Campbell, 42 Ft.	Maj. Alexander Campbell Wyllly,
Maj. William Campbell, 23 F.	7 Foot
Maj. Charles de Petersdorf, 8	Brev. Major Delacy Evans, 6
L. B. K. G. L.	West India Regiment.

Commissions dated June 18th, 1815.

To be MAJORS in the Army, viz.

Capt. Michael Turner, 1 D. G.	Capt. George L. Rudorff, 1 L. I.
Capt. Edward Whinyates, R. A.	K. G. L.
Capt. Peter Innes, 79 F.	Capt. Hon. E. S. Erskine, 60 F.
Capt. Edward Kelly, 1 L. G.	Capt. William F. Drake, Royal
Capt. Henry Madox, 6 D.	Horse Guards
Capt. Hon. H. E. Irby, 2 L. G.	Capt. William Drummond, 3 G.
Capt. Samuel Reed, 71 F.	Capt. James Gunthorpe, 1 G.
Capt. Edward Keane, 7 L. D.	Capt. Aug. de Saffe, 1 Lt. Bat.
Capt. W. Baron Decken, 2 L. B.	K. G. L.
K. G. L.	Capt. James Shaw, 43 F.
Capt. Adam Brugh, 44 F.	Capt. Lord Charles Fitzroy, 1 G.
Capt. A. Cleves, Art. K. G. L.	Capt. Chas. A. F. Bentinck, C.
Capt. L. de Dreves, 3 Lt. Bat.	F. G.
K. G. L.	Capt. Alex. Mackdonald, R. A.
Capt. Lord Jno. Somerset, 63 F.	Capt. Robert Ellison, 1 F. G.

 Form of prayer and thanksgiving.

Capt. Thomas Dyneley, R. A. Capt. Henry Dumaresque, 9 F.

Capt. William Verner, 7 L. D. Capt. James Jackson, 37 F.

Capt. Skinner Hancox, 15 L.D. Capt. Robert Howard, 30 F.

Capt. W. F. Halsemann, 1 L. I. Capt. William Eeles, 95 F.

K. G. L. Capt. John Tyler, 93 F.

Capt. Conyngham Ellis, 40 F. Capt. Algernon Langton, 61 F.

Capt. Geo. Bowles, Cold. F. G.

Lord Arthur Hill, upon the Staff (commission dated July 27, 1815.)

*The following is a Copy of the Form of Prayer and
Thanksgiving for the late Victory; ordered to be
read in all Churches.*

“O God, the disposer of all human events, without whose aid the strength of man is weakness, and the counsels of the wisest are as nothing, accept our praise and thanksgiving for the signal victory which thou hast recently vouchsafed to the Allied Armies in Flanders.—Grant, O merciful God, that the result of this mighty battle, terrible in conflict, but glorious beyond example in success, may put an end to the miseries of Europe, and stanch the blood of nations. Bless, we beseech Thee, the Allied Armies with thy continual favour. Stretch forth thy right hand to help and direct them. Let not the glory of their progress be stained by ambition, nor sullied by revenge; but let Thy Holy Spirit support them in danger, control them in victory, and raise them above all temptation to evil, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory now and for ever.” *Amen.*



Explanation of the plate, plains of Waterloo.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

PLAINS OF WATERLOO.

Fig. 1 & 2. The view of La Belle Alliance. No. 1 presents the appearance of the farm-house which was pierced through with cannon balls.

3, 4, 5, 6. Heights occupied by the French.

7. Farm-house of La Haye Sainte.

8 & 9. Forest of Soignies.

10. Village of Mont St. Jean.

11. Most advanced post of the British army near Hougoumont.

12, 13, 14, 15. Situation of the remainder of the British army.

16, 17, 18, 19, 20. A cut earth bank in front of the British position.

21. A high perpendicular bank cut down for the road to pass through.

22. A bank surrounded by cannon.

23, 24, 25, 26, 27. Road from Brussels to Genappe, which passes through the centre of the positions of both armies.

28. The observatory.

29, 30, 31, 32. The road by which the Prussians advanced to aid the British army.

33. The Duke of Wellington's situation at the commencement of the action, surrounded by his staff.

34. The reserve of the French were placed upon these heights.

35. Sir Thomas Picton fell near this tree in the thickest of the fight.

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

36, 37, 38. A hedge which was completely trodden down during the engagement, which was in this part dreadfully severe.

39, 40. A part of the ground on which the British army bivouacked on the night of the 17th.

41. A farm-house where a solitary woman continued, shut up during the engagement, amid the bursting of shells, and hissing of cannon balls, under the foolish idea of taking care of her poultry and pigs.

A WALK

OVER THE FIELD OF WATERLOO, A SHORT TIME
AFTER THE BATTLE.

On the 18th of July, 1815, the writer of this narrative in company with two friends, set out from Brussels, to explore the celebrated field of battle at Waterloo. The length of the road from Brussels to this village is about nine miles, and the view as you leave the city is very pleasing. The forest of Soignies soon receives you, and it has a deep, gloomy look, which adds not a little to the interest of the scene. This forest covers an immense extent of country from east to west, but it is only about six or seven miles broad, where the road passes through it to Waterloo. Every foot of the road was interesting, as it held its very straight course through the wood. We contrasted the gloomy quiet of our journey,—a few peasants going to their early labour,

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

—with its accumulated horrors on the day of the retreat of the baggage and wounded of the army; the multitudes who dropt and died; the numbers who were crushed to death; the hurry, the alarm, the confusion; the cries, and shrieks, and groans, of that dreadful scene.

Our carriage kept the paved chaussee, or centre of the way; the two sides, of about fifteen feet wide each, being deep and muddy, as they were on the great occasion. The whole breadth of the road seemed to be forty or fifty feet. The trees which bounded it on each side are tall, and kept trimmed like a very high hedge or screen; beyond them immediately commences the thick wood, in all the irregularity of nature. Here the wounded had crawled, and died in great numbers; much baggage had been plundered; and the whole population of the country had fled for safety. Our postillion pointed out the mounds which marked where men and horses had been interred; they were apparent every hundred yards. The sepulture had been hurried and imperfect, especially of the horses; hoofs, and even limbs frequently appearing. Often bayonet scabbards stuck out; and caps, shoes, and pieces of cloth, were scarcely in the gloom distinguishable from the mud in which they lay.

Waterloo's village, and small neat church, with its brick-built dome, were now in our view, situated in a recess of the wood, evidently cleared for them.—The road was now quite out of the forest; which, however, blackened the whole region to east and

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

west as far as the eye could reach. We drove a mile forward to the still smaller hamlet of Mount St. Jean, by a gradual ascent of the road; to right and left of which, the British army bivouacked on the eve of the battle; having advanced over the high ground in the morning to the southern slope facing the enemy; on fair open ground, without an advantage, to decide the fate of the world.

Here as we looked around us, and beheld the last homes of the brave, the numerous graves that presented themselves on all sides, we could not help thinking these mounds of newly-upturned earth more awfully impressive than the view of thousands of dead bodies. "These earthly hillocks (to use the language of a popular author,) frequently tripped the step on crossing a hedge-row, clearing a fence, or winding along among the grass that overhung a secluded pathway. In some spots they lay in thick clusters and long ranks; in others, one would present itself alone: betwixt these a black scathed circle told that fire had been employed to consume, as worthless refuse, what parents cherished, friends esteemed, and women loved.

The summer wind that shook the branches of the trees, and waved the clover, and the gaudy heads of the thistles, brought along with it a foul stench, still more hideous to the mind than to the offended sense. The foot that startled the small bird from its rest amidst the grass, disturbed at the same time, some poor remnant of a human being—either a bit of his showy habiliment in which he

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

took pride,—or of his warlike accoutrements which were his glory,—or of the frame-work of his body itself, which he felt as comeliness and strength, the instant before it became a mass of senseless matter.”

As a companion to these portraits, we add the beautiful description of Mr. Southey, who visited the field of battle last autumn :

In parts the careful farmer had renewed
His labours, late by battle frustrated ;
And where the unconscious soil had been imbued
With blood, profusely there like water shed,
There had his ploughshare turn'd the guilty ground,
And the green corn was springing all around.
The graves he left for natural thought humane
Untouched ; and here and there where in the strife
Contending feet had trampled down the grain,
Some hardier roots were found, which of their life
Tenacious, had put forth a second head,
And sprung, and eared, and ripened on the dead.
Some marks of wreck were scattered all around,
As shoe, and belt, and broken bandoleer,
And hats which bore the mark of mortal wound ;
Gun-flints and balls for those who closelier peer ;
And sometimes did the breeze upon its breath
Bear from ill-covered graves a taint of death.

From St. Jean, the road immediately rises up the back of the ridge,—on the height and in the front of which, the infantry of the Duke of Wellington's army was formed in line. The cavalry, at the beginning of the battle, were posted on the St. Jean

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

side of the eminence. The ascent is easy: you reach the top unexpectedly, and the whole field of battle is then at once before the eye. Its sudden burst has the effect of a shock.

The point from whence this complete view of the scene, so often pictured in imagination, first presents itself, is one of the most interesting that it includes. It is the summit of the ridge close to the road, over which hangs an old picturesque tree, with a few straggling branches projecting in grotesque shapes from its ragged trunk.

The British position extended on the right and left of the road, for the extent of about a mile and three quarters, along the top of a continued line of gentle eminences, immediately confronted by very similar heights, distant from half to three quarters of a mile, along which the French army was posted. The intermediate plain, and the ascent of our ridge, form the field of battle.

The tree, already mentioned, fixed on the bank above the high road from Brussels to Charleroi, denotes the centre of our position, and, the Duke of Wellington having been near it the greatest part of the day, it goes by the name of the "*Wellington tree.*" It was much shattered with balls, both grape and musket; all of which had been picked out by visitors. Its branches and trunk were terribly splintered. It still retained, however, the vitality of its growth; and will, probably, for many future years, be the first saluting sign to our children and our children's children, who, with feelings of a

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

sacred cast, come to gaze on this theatre of their ancestors' deeds.

A little way down from this tree, keeping near to the road, is the farm of La Haye Sainte. The garden was one entire heap of devastation: hedges were levelled, walls broken down. The door was riddled through and through with all sorts of shot, and furnished a most appalling proof of the fury of the attack, and the determination of the defence. The post, after a most gallant resistance by the party to whom it was intrusted, was forced by the enemy, and every soul within the building bayoneted. Its situation must have rendered this a most alarming event. On entering into the court-yard, the aspect of wretchedness and destruction was still more fearful. The farmer and his family had hastily fled, nor was there as yet any indications of their returning. A little child came out to us begging for a sous: the roofs of the dwelling-house and offices were knocked into great holes by bombs and cannon balls; the windows were hideous wrecks, not a pane of glass remaining in the whole range, the frames all broken, and the fragments hanging most forlornly.

Returning again to Lord Wellington's station, we stood and gazed on the whole scene, not daring to break silence for some minutes. And deep was now the silence of the vast sepulchre of 20,000 men, contrasted with the roar and the carnage of the battle.

At the distance from each other of about a mile,

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

the contending armies occupied parallel high grounds, sloping, with almost equal declivity to a plain of about half a mile broad, which intervened. The English line, or rather two lines, extended about two miles; the French masses nearly three miles. The Brussels road ran at right angles through both armies; forming the centre of each. On this road, in one line, are the villages of Waterloo and Mont St. Jean, and the farm-houses of La Haye Sainte, and La Belle Alliance; and the only other place which requires to be referred to, is the memorable Chateau of Hougoumont,* advanced

* The Rev. Mr. Rudge, who visited the field of Waterloo, a few days after the battle, in notes to a sermon on the peace, lately published, has given us an interesting account of the desolation caused by the severe contest at Hougoumont, an extract from which we subjoin.—“ But, after all, there was no part of the field of battle in which I was so much interested, as the house and garden of Hougoumont, where the engagement commenced.— At this place I spent some interesting, but melancholy moments.— Here it was that the battle raged with the utmost fury throughout the day; and the cool intrepidity and physical strength of our brave men were conspicuously displayed in resisting the repeated attacks of the French army. Every British soldier here proved himself a hero. The chateau of Hougoumont was in a state of ruin when I visited it. Not a single part remained entire. The whole exhibited the most terrible appearance. In one of the out-buildings, of which the roof and wall were nearly destroyed, was a large room, in which the bodies of some hundreds had been burnt. Their ashes yet smoked; and I am sure I speak without exaggeration when I say, that the ashes of the dead were in this place three feet deep. I have in my possession a small piece of a skull, which I found there, and upon which the suture of the

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

a short way in front of nearly the right of the British position.

The road from Brussels to Nivelles, which branches off at Waterloo from the great road already described, passed the right of the army; which last being thrown back into a curve, crossed the angle formed by the two roads, like the scale of a quadrant. A number of smaller roads and footpaths intersected the field in all directions, none of them of any importance in the affair, excepting always those which admitted the brave Prussians to their share of the glory of the day.

skull was very perceptible. The garden attached to the house is of considerable length, and it appeared originally to have been laid out with some taste. It was surrounded by a thick wall, which served as a protection to our men, to whom was intrusted the defence of the place. Opposite to it was a small wood, in which the French army was stationed. From hence they were firing throughout the whole of the day upon our brave fellows, who, from apertures made in the walls, returned a most destructive fire of musketry. It was curious to observe the effects of the balls on the different trees which came within their range. There was not one but what was pierced with numerous holes; and while the foliage was thick and beautiful above, the contrast below was singularly striking. The trees were in the most mutilated state, having their bark torn away, and their trunks penetrated by balls. Near the entrance of the chateau is a place in which were buried or burnt above a thousand of the slain. The smell was here particularly offensive, and in some places parts of the human body were distinctly to be recognised. The earth with which they had been covered had sunk in, and exhibited here and there an arm and a human face, the flesh nearly wasted away, and the features of the countenance hardly distinguishable, from the change they

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

But the whole will at once be illustrated, by looking at the plans given with this work.

We next arrived at the memorable post of Hougomont, for ever associated with the name of the British Foot Guards and the warriors of Brunswick. To them exclusively belongs the glory of having foiled the persevering and desperate attacks of at least 30,000 of the enemy; and they were just the 1st, 2nd, and 3d regiments of Guards, with a detachment of Brunswickers.

We were surprised to find Hougomont, (more correctly Goumont) a country seat, with gardens neatly laid out in the Dutch taste, and extensive offices. A small wood was on the outside, a short

had undergone. Every thing around attested the horrors of war, and the march of devastation. On every side were scattered the arms and clothing of the slain; shoes, caps, and belts, and every other military appendage, either stained with blood or covered with dirt. In the corn-fields, which had been completely ploughed up by the trampling of horses and the movements of the soldiers, a number of books, cards, and letters were seen. I saw and read some few in English, one in particular, from a soldier to a female friend in the north of England, in which he gave her an account of his being engaged in the battle of the 16th; that he had been so fortunate as to escape without a single wound; that he expected again to be engaged, when he hoped that Boney might be taken, and an end put to the war; and that he should then return, and be happy with ———, for the remainder of his days. This letter was dated on the 17th; it was directed, but not sealed.— On my return to England, I wrote to the person to whom it was inscribed, and enclosed it in my letter, giving an account of the situation in which I found it."

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

distance from the high garden wall, which is of brick, perforated in two tiers for musketry, and shattered with the enemy's cannon-balls. The light companies of the three regiments of Guards were stationed in this wood, and were of course driven into the house.

For some time after the battle, the accumulation of dead in and around this post presented perhaps the most shocking spectacle in the whole field.—When in the garden, where fruit-trees and shrubberies seemed as if they were blighted, and the neat alleys of holly and yew were much torn and deranged, we saw the poor gardener, who had remained in his garden all the time of the furious storm; because, as he candidly owned, after the battle was begun, he could not venture out of it. It is said, that two ladies, deeply interested for some relative, sat in a carriage during the greatest part of the action, on the great road, and repeatedly under fire.

After some skirmishing between the piquets, the French commenced the engagement about ten o'clock, with a furious attack upon the post at the wood and garden of Chateau Hougomont, which was occupied by General Byng's brigade of Guards. It was a point of particular importance to the enemy to gain this post, as, from its situation, it commanded a considerable part of our position; and accordingly it was furiously and incessantly assailed by large and reinforced bodies of the French, and gallantly and successfully defended to the last by

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

the British. Napoleon himself directed the charge of the French Imperial Guards against it; but even though fighting under the immediate eye of their leader, they were broken, repulsed, and finally cut to pieces by the British Guards. Thirty pieces of our artillery played continually over this wood, to assist its defence, while the enemy directed against it their hottest fire.

Every tree in the wood of Hougoumont was pierced with balls—in one alone, upwards of twenty had lodged: but the strokes which were fatal to human life, have scarcely injured them; though their trunks were filled with balls, and their branches broken and destroyed, their verdure is still the same. Wild flowers were still blooming, and wild raspberries ripening beneath their shade; while huge black piles of human ashes, dreadfully offensive in smell, are all that now remain of the heroes who fought and fell upon this fatal spot. Beside some graves, at the outskirts of this wood, the little wild flower, “Forget me not,” was blooming, and the flaring red poppy had already sprung up around, and even upon them, as if in mockery of the dead. The chateau itself, upon which the attack was first made by the French, now in ruins, is immediately behind the wood, by the side of the road to Nivelles. It was the beautiful country seat of a Belgic gentleman, and was accidentally set on fire by shells, during the action, which completed the destruction occasioned by the cannonade. In the garden behind the house, the roses, orange-trees,

A walk over the field of Waterloo.

and geraniums were still flowering in beauty, a melancholy contrast to the ruined house, whose mouldering piles were still smoking, and to the scene of desolation around.

In the beautiful language of our poet laureat, who visited this spot in the autumn,

The pears had ripen'd on the garden wall;
Those leaves which on the autumnal earth were spread,
The trees, though pierc'd and scar'd with many a ball,
Had only in their natural season shed :
Flowers were in seed, whose buds to swell began
When such wild havoc here was made of man :

Throughout the garden, fruits, and herbs, and flowers
You saw in 'growth, or ripeness, or decay :
The green and well-trimm'd dial mark'd the hours
With gliding shadow as they pass'd away :
Who would have thought, to see this garden fair,
Such horrors had so late been acted there !

The poor countryman, who with his wife and infant family, inhabited a miserable shed amongst the deserted ruins, pointed out with superstitious reverence, the little chapel belonging to the chateau, which alone stood uninjured in the midst of these blackened walls and falling beams. There was something inexpressibly striking in the almost miraculous preservation of this simple sanctuary of piety, which the flames of war, and the hand of rapine, had alike spared ; and it was affecting to see standing on the spot, still reeking with human

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.  
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blood, and heaped with the dreadful and yet undecayed remains of mortality, the sacred altar of that blessed religion, which proclaimed "Peace on earth," and dispelled the horrors of death, by the assurance of immortality.

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The little fane,  
For worship hallow'd, still uninjur'd stands,  
Save that its crucifix displays, too plain,  
The marks of outrage from irreverent hands.  
Alas, to think such irreligious deed  
Of wrong, from British soldiers should proceed !

SOUTHEY.

The poet just quoted, as in common with every true patriot, must wish that the chateau and garden of Hougoumont, together with the wood, should be preserved as nearly as possible in its present state, as a perpetual memorial to the visitors of Waterloo, of the unconquerable bravery of British soldiers. This wish, however, is not likely to be gratified, the proprietor having already destroyed every trace of the wood in which this chateau was once embosomed; and it is probable, that ere this the ruins have been razed to the ground.

We crossed diagonally to the hovel of Belle Alliance. It is of the poorest description; consisting of two rooms, with two smaller back rooms, a passage, and some miserable holes up stairs. There are also some ruinous out-houses, and a well, into which several dead bodies were thrown. On the gable of the house, the owner has painted in very



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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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large and rude letters in black, on a white-wash ground, "*Hotel de la Belle Alliance.*" Wellington and Blucher did not meet in this house, as generally believed; but some hundred yards further on in the pursuit. It is possible the Duke of Wellington may have entered the house; and the people show a straw-bottomed chair, on which they say he sat down,—but at any rate it was the head-quarters of Bonaparte during the battle. The latter had supped in one house, and slept in another, not far from Belle Alliance. The first of these houses had been unroofed, and nearly destroyed, for no assignable reason. We entered the house, hovel as it was, with great respect; got some refreshment, and drank a bumper on the spot to the alliance.

The two rooms of this Flemish public-house offered a most singular spectacle in the scribbling on their walls, which were covered, like a seat in Kensington Gardens, with names, inscriptions, drawings, devices, and poetry; all the fruits of those "longings after immortality," that are peculiarly impulsive in the breasts of our country folks, if we may judge by their peculiar taste for these records, written and hieroglyphic. The whimsical humour that distinguishes the public character of these people, had not been at all repressed by the awful circumstances of the situation. A Mr. "John Todd," had been careful to leave behind him information that he "came to the field of battle at Waterloo, the 10th of July, 1815." There was

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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something less pleasant in the bit of biography, tacked by some impartial person to the rather too concise history, which an individual had thought proper to give of his interesting self, in the words "Thomas Jackson;" a pencil inscription, in another hand, rendered the memorial less meagre, and more instructive, by stating, that "he was hanged at the last assizes, for sheep-stealing!" The portrait of "Thomas Sutcliffe, of the second Life Guards," had been delineated on the wall by some friendly hand, in coal outline: a critic in the fine arts, jealous probably of the honour thus paid, had endeavoured to depreciate it, by putting the words "ugly *thief*," in very prominent connexion with this otherwise flattering imitation.

For a great breadth along the road, was seen the station of the reserve cavalry of the old guard; with which a desperate final effort was made to retrieve the battle. The marks of the horses' feet in the deep ground, hardened again when we saw it, gave us an idea of the immensity of the force which had stood there.

The reserve of the young guard was posted in a hollow between Belle Alliance and Mount Plaisir. To the right of the 23d, the 52nd, and 71st regiments advanced in the pursuit. It fell to them to meet the young guard. Numbers were more than ever out of the question—panic had spread through the vast host of the enemy. The two regiments, weakened as they had been, rushed upon the

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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guard, and routed it in an instant; the same guard with whose spirit and equipment Bonaparte had so lately before made all Europe to resound. A most admirable manœuvre was here performed by the two victorious regiments. They separated, and running on two sides of an oval for a considerable way, met again; and thus cut off several thousand prisoners.

Returning by Belle Alliance, we advanced about one hundred and fifty yards to the rising ground, on the left hand side of the road looking to the British army, from which Napoleon viewed the field: and a very complete view he had of it. He had no scaffold erected where he stood, and certainly never went, after the battle had commenced, to the telegraph in the rear, which was at the distance of at least a mile.

We left the station of Bonaparte, and in imagination, as we proceeded, attended the sullen march of this column to the point of its destined defeat. The whole French army had been premonished of the movement, and new and desperate efforts were called for. All eyes were fixed on the old guard, which had never before failed. New efforts were made in a surprising degree by these brave men. The flame of honour burned, however, steadily in the British army. Great efforts in their enemies, as usual, produced still greater in them; and not an inch of ground was gained by the assailants.—The track over which the guard moved, and over

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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which they fled, was still, when we passed it, covered by their spoil, and marked by horses' feet, cannon-wheels, and the deeper furrows of balls and bombs. Ponsonby fell here.

A thousand French dead alone lay on this spot; even yet it exhibited holsters (one we observed which had been filled with blood,) standard-holders, pieces of bridles, straps, girths, &c. all denoting a tremendous conflict of cavalry; and the ground seemed quite cut to pieces with marks of the struggling exertions of horses' feet. The well-known caps of the grenadiers of the French guard, lay yet in considerable numbers; with rags of their uniforms. Some more affecting remains were also there, pieces of tartan and of ostrich feathers, the plaids and plumes of Scotland.

And here we took leave of the field of battle, with sensations somewhat like those which have been so prettily described by the poet of Waterloo;

Farewell, sad Field! whose blighted face  
Wears desolation's withering trace;  
Long shall my memory retain  
Thy shatter'd huts and trampled grain,  
With ev'ry mark of martial wrong,  
That scathe thy towers, fair Hougoumont!  
Yet though thy garden's green arcade  
The marksman's fatal post was made,  
Though on thy shatter'd beeches fell  
The blended rage of shot and shell,  
Though from thy blacken'd portals torn,  
Their fall thy blighted fruit-trees mourn.



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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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On returning to the village, we went over from the inn (the Jean de Nivelles) to the Church ; and here we found the following inscriptions to the memory of several of our brave officers who fell in the battle of Waterloo :

*Plain tablets, by the soldier's hand,  
Rais'd to his comrades in a foreign land.*

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
of  
Lieutenant Colonels  
Edward Stables,  
Sir Francis D'Oyly, K. C. B.  
Charles Thomas,  
William Miller, and William Henry Milner ;  
Captains  
Robert Adair,  
Edward Grose,  
Newton Chambers, and Thomas Brown ;  
Ensigns  
Edward Pardoe,  
James Lord Hay, and  
the Honourable S. S. P. Barrington,  
of  
His Britannic Majesty's  
First Regiment of Foot Guards,  
who fell gloriously in the battle  
of Quatre Bras and Waterloo,  
on the 16th and 18th of  
June, 1815.

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The Officers of the Regiment have erected this  
Monument, in commemoration of the fall  
of their Gallant Companions.

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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TO THE MEMORY  
 of  
 Major Edwin Griffith,  
 Lieutenant Isaac Sherwood, and  
 Lieutenant Henry Buckley,  
 Officers in the 15th  
 King's Regiment of Hussars, (British)  
 who fell in  
 the Battle of Waterloo,  
 June 18, 1815.

This Stone was erected by the Officers of that Regiment  
 as a testimony of their respect.

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*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

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In a neighbouring spot, through a pleasant little wood, quiet and secluded, are two flat stones, lying on the ground, pointing out the graves of Lieut. Colonel Fitzgerald of the second Life Guards, and of Colonel de Langrehr, Commandant of the first battalion of Bremen.

Respecting the interment of Lord Uxbridge's leg, Mr. Southey furnishes us with the following interesting anecdote :—

“ Lord Uxbridge's leg is buried in a garden opposite to the inn, or rather public-house, at Waterloo. The owner of the house in which the amputation was performed, considers it as a relic which has fallen to his share. He had deposited it at first behind the house, but as he intended to plant a tree upon the spot, he considered, that as the ground there was not his own property, the boys might injure or destroy the tree, and therefore he removed

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A walk over the field of Waterloo.

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the leg into his own garden, where it lies in a proper sort of coffin, under a mound of earth about three or four feet in diameter. A tuft of Michaelmas daisies was in blossom upon this mound when we were at Waterloo; but this was a temporary ornament; in November the owner meant to plant a weeping willow there. He was obliging enough to give me a copy of an epitaph which he had prepared, and which, he said, was then in the stone-cutter's hands. It is as follows:

CI EST INTERREE  
la Jambe de l'illustre, brave, and vaillant  
Comte Uxbridge, Lieutenant General,  
Commandant en Chief  
la Cavalerie Angloise, Belge, et Hollandoise;  
blesse le 18 Juin, 1815,  
a la memorable bataille de Waterloo;  
qui par son heroisme a concouru au triomphe de la cause  
du Genre humain,  
glorieusement decidee par l'eclatante  
victoire du dit jour.

If the peasants in the neighbourhood of Waterloo suffered great alarm, and considerable damage, in the course of this tremendous conflict, it must be acknowledged they have had peculiar and ample means of indemnification. They had, in the first place, the greatest share of the spoils of the field of battle, for our soldiers were too much exhausted to anticipate them in this particular. Many country people were at once enriched by the plunder of the French baggage, and not a few by that of the Bri-

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Bonaparte in Paris.

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ish, which having been ordered to retreat during the action, became embarrassed on the narrow causeway leading through the great forest of Soignies, and was there fairly sacked and pillaged by the runaway Belgians and the peasantry ; a disgraceful scene, which nothing but the brilliancy of the great victory, and the consequent enthusiasm of joy, could have allowed to be passed over without strict inquiry. Many of our officers, and some but ill able to afford such a loss, were in this manner deprived of all their clothes and baggage, at the moment of their advance into the territories of France.

A more innocent source of profit has opened to many of the poor people about Waterloo, by the sale of such trinkets and arms as they collect daily from the field of battle ; things of no intrinsic value, but upon which curiosity sets a daily increasing estimate. These memorials, like the books of the Sybils, rise in value as they decrease in number. Almost every hamlet opens a mart for them as soon as English visitors appear.

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We shall now return to Bonaparte, whom the reader will recollect we last noticed on his disgraceful retreat from the scene of his overthrow. On the 20th of June, about nine o'clock in the evening, he reached Paris, and was almost the first to announce the disastrous intelligence of his defeat, and the loss of his army. We are indebted for the following particulars of the conferences he had with his



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Bonaparte's conference with his ministers.

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ministers and the leading characters of France, on his return, to an interesting work, by Mons. Didier, who was present at the most of them.

“ Bonaparte first saw Mad. de Leu (Louis Bonaparte's wife) then Maret and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely. The night was far advanced; Maret sat in the corner of the room, with an alarmed countenance. Regnault stood before a table, making pencil marks on a piece of paper before him.—Bonaparte walked up and down, biting his nails and taking snuff. He stopped all at once, and said, “ Where is the bulletin ?”

*Regnault.* There it is, corrected.

*Bon.* Let us see. (Regnault began reading it.)

*Bon.* (During two-thirds of it,) It was gained. When Regnault had finished, he said with a sigh—It is lost!

*Bon.* It is lost, and—my glory with it.

*Regnault.* You have fifty victories to oppose to one defeat.

*Maret.* The defeat is decisive ; the emperor is in the right.

*Bon.* They are not accustomed to conquer.—They will abuse the victory.

*Maret.* Those whose cowardice Wellington's bravery has made triumphant, are more dangerous, and more your enemies, than the English and Prussians.

*Regnault.* The republicans will grieve ; but they will try to profit by the circumstance.

*Bon.* They will do well ; at least the glory and liberty of the country will remain untouched. If

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Bonaparte's conference with his ministers.

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the royalists succeed, it will be by the support of foreigners.

*Maret.* The courage of the royalists is in the head of Wellington, and the arm of Blucher.

*Regnault.* What most presses is, to stop Blucher and Wellington.

*Maret.* How? The army exists no more, and the frontier is uncovered.

*Regnault.* The frontier is uncovered, but the army exists; it requires only being rallied.

*Bon.* It will rally itself; we must reorganize and repair its losses.

*Maret.* Are you sure of Soult and Grouchy?

*Bon.* Grouchy is an honest man, but feeble.—Soult has given pledges.

*Regnault.* The army will reorganize itself, but the corps are incomplete.

*Bon.* Assemble the ministers. I will have the chambers know all to-night.

*Maret.* Parties will be agitated.

*Regnault.* The parties, agitated for a long time, will know each other, measure their strength, and make efforts.

*Bon.* So much the better. The masks will fall off. For the public I mean. As for me, a long time has——Summon the ministers. We will make a report—tell the truth. If all patriotism and honour are not dead, the chambers will not refuse men and money.

*Maret.* They will speak of sparing water and engines, when the house is on fire.

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Bonaparte's conference with his ministers.

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*Regnault.* They have stupidly reproached dictatorship. It is now that it will save all.

*Bon.* I have recommended a constitutional monarchy—convoke the ministers.

*Maret.* No dictatorship. But also no indignities. If we are attacked, we will defend ourselves.

*Bon.* Ah ! my old Guard ! will they defend themselves like thee ?

They separated. Maret remained with the emperor, who in spite of his fatigue, received several visits, at which I was not present. From my window I saw among the carriages those of Cambaceres, Decres, Caulincourt, and the two Carnots.

On the following morning Napoleon had Didier called up at half-past six.—He was with the Duke of Otranto, minister of police, who most probably was giving an account of the situation of parties. Napoleon appeared to be much embarrassed and confused. M. Fouché seemed also to be very sensibly affected and submissive.

When he was gone out the emperor ordered me to draw up three copies of a written paper, which he took from a *porte-feuille*. Whilst I was disposing myself to do this, he was muttering these words : “Tranquil—every thing according to him, is tranquil ! and I have only to speak to obtain every thing ! Which then is right, this report or he ?—Ah, I will give credit to this report, which accords so well with what I anticipate—(then shaking the paper) this has never deceived me.”

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Report of the state of parties.

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I wrote nearly in the following terms:—"The uneasiness is universal, but the more concealed, as it is the more general. There are meetings in the evenings and at nights in the street Sainte Marguerite, Fauxbourg St. Antoine, at the house of C——, a principal agent of the party of the *Federes*; and at the house of L——, of the chamber of representatives, in the *Rue des Macons Sorbonne*. This last mentioned meeting is composed of royalists. The Cure of St. N——, who is one of the party, says that this meeting is by no means dangerous, and that it will not become so, but in case of the enemy's success. The deputies are less timid. Yesterday, in consequence of a letter having been received by one of them, S-v-y was of opinion, that during the emperor's absence a commission of *Surveillance* should be appointed, composed of members of the chambers, or persons not of the chambers, to which commission prince Joseph and the council of regency should be obliged to render an account. This motion will be made on the first news of success, under the pretext that the emperor will seize that occasion to extend his constitutional authority. The royalists and the republicans of the assembly will come to an understanding. They will come to a much more perfect understanding should there be a reverse.—The royalists wish it, and it is certainly believed that they will organise more than one, which will be imputed to the emperor, whose spirit, they say, begins to droop. This is what they also say of Carnot,



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Interview between Bonaparte and the Princess Hortense.

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by reason of his late report. The patriots, however, do not wish for disasters, but if any should happen, they will be ready to profit by them."

Two copies of this report were addressed to Regnault d'Angely and to Carnot. The emperor kept the third, and burnt the original.

I was finishing my task, when the Princess Hortense was announced. I left the room, but incited by a curiosity, blameable, perhaps, but which, in these distressing circumstances, arose only from the interest which it excited, I passed round the bed-room, and slipped into the wardrobe, in which was a domer window, which, though almost entirely covered by a small folded curtain, enabled me with difficulty to perceive, or to express myself more correctly, to guess at some traits of the scene, the perspective of which lay before me.—From the situation in which I was placed, I could only see Napoleon's profile, and Madame de St. Leu's full face. She was seated, holding in one hand a handkerchief, with which, at intervals, she covered her eyes, and in the other a smelling bottle. She was pale, and appeared to be considerably affected. The emperor, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting down very quickly, was speaking in monosyllables, and that at intervals, the sound of which I could only hear, without comprehending the meaning. From the supplicating gestures which she used—from her eyes bathed in tears—from some sighs which escaped her, it was easy to imagine that she was warmly soliciting

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Assembling of the Chambers.

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something which her brother-in-law was refusing. I have since learned that she was begging him to demand a peace, and was endeavouring to make him understand the danger of continuing the war. To all the objections of the Princess the monarch answered in laconic and decisive phrases, in which I could distinguish the words, *the Bourbons—the English—dishonour*. At length, seemingly incensed at not overcoming by violence this mildly obstinate resistance, the emperor strikes furiously with his foot, and presses with his hands against a pile of small volumes heaped up on his bureau, and scatters them about the room. One of these volumes happened to hit the foot of Madame Hortense, whose tears were redoubled by this violence. Napoleon stops, moderates his passion, goes immediately up to her, and from the serenity which appeared on the forehead of that unfortunate princess, I might suppose that she had obtained part of her demand. The interview ended with these words, which the emperor pronounced in a very loud voice—"Send me your son!"—after which he affectionately kissed the hand of Madame de St. Leu, who then departed.

For two days and nights meetings and committees succeed each other in the Elysee Palace, without producing any result. The emperor's anxiety seemed to increase. Much business seemed to be doing, and yet nothing was determined. The time was, however, pressing. The chambers had assembled, and from the violence of the discussions,

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Conversation between Bonaparte and Prince Lucien.

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it was plain that the parties stood opposed to each other; the necessity of an abdication was already spoken of with much freedom.

I heard the noise of a carriage which suddenly stopped at the palace; it was Prince Lucien's—Napoleon turned pale on seeing him; he went down, however, and met his brother in the garden. The Prince drew the Emperor aside into the closest walk in the garden. I followed at a distance by turnings which I knew, and I arrived behind a thicket of verdure which concealed me from them. It is probable I heard only the last part of their conversation.

*Prince Lucien.*—Where is your firmness now?—Abandon this irresolution. You know the consequence of not having the courage to dare.

*Emperor.*—I have dared too much.

*Prince.*—Yes, too much and too little. Dare once again. You deliberate when it is proper you should act. Others are acting and not deliberating; they will pronounce your forfeiture.

*Emperor.*—Forfeiture! Let us see Davoust.

They returned into the palace, and the Prince of Eckmuhl was sent for. I am not certain what was proposed to him, nor what he replied; but it appeared that he would attempt nothing against the independence of the national representation.

Prince Lucien, much agitated, soon drove off in his carriage. I heard him say to his secretary,—“What can I say to you? The smoke of Mont St. Jean has turned his head.”

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Bonaparte receives an anonymous letter.

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The Emperor shut himself hermetically in a retired cabinet, and did not come out for an hour. He had asked for a jelly and coffee, and a valet-de-chambre sent it in to him by a boy, who, during his service in the palace, had been particularly noticed by Napoleon, and of whom he seemed very fond. The boy looked seriously at the Emperor, who was sitting motionless, with his hands over his eyes.—“Eat some,” said the boy, “it will do you good. The Emperor asked, “Are you not from Gonesse?”—“No, sire, I come from Pierre Fite.”—“And your parents have a cottage and some acres there?”—“Yes, sire.”—“That is a happy life!” His head which he had for a moment raised, he then sunk again upon his hands.

Napoleon soon after returned to his great cabinet, where he found me opening a dispatch. “Is there any thing new there?” said the Emperor. “It contains a letter addressed to his majesty himself.”—Bonaparte read what follows:—

“The chastisement of a hero consists in his fall. Yours is resolved on, and in order that history may consider it as legal as your contemporaries will believe it just, the public authority is about to pronounce it. Your accomplices will not then have it in their power to describe it as the work of the bayonets of Kalmucks. You may, however, prevent this. Take to yourself the honour of descending from a throne from which you may be dragged. This is the advice of a candid enemy who has often admired you, who never feared you; and who, at the



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Asks the opinion of his ministers.

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price of his blood, would have wished to have had to revere in you, the saviour of that world of which you have been the scourge. That enemy cannot leave him whom his genius and the national will have raised to sovereignty, without saying to him, what his friends, if any yet remain to him, ought to say—ABDICATE.”

That I should abdicate? biting his lips and crushing the letter in his hand. What think you of it? said he, to two of the ministers, the Duke of Bassano and Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, who had just entered—the former was silent. “I understand you,” said Napoleon, affecting gayety; “you agree with the anonymous writer. Well, Count Regnault, what is your opinion?”—“With men and money you might still repel the attacks of your assailants; but without them, what can you do but yield?”—“I am able to resist.”—“Public opinion is with the Chambers, and it is the opinion of the Chambers that the sacrifice is required.”

Here General Solignac, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, was announced. “Solignac!” exclaimed the Emperor, “he has not spoke to me these five years: what can he want?” The ministers withdrew, and Solignac was immediately admitted.

I was not present at the conversation, I shall therefore quote the words in which the General has stated it himself.

“It was settled; the Chamber had determined to exclude Napoleon from the throne; but it was wished to show regard for the army in proceedings

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Bonaparte's intentions on his return to Paris.

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concerning the person of its chief, whose power and glory the troops had so long been accustomed to respect. There was also reason to fear, that the decree of its forfeiture might be made the pretext of an insurrection. The capital might become the scene of serious troubles, and the country be involved in a civil war. It appeared necessary, therefore, in order to avoid these evils, that the abdication of Napoleon should proceed from himself, and be considered as a voluntary act of devotedness for the country.

“ To obtain this object, I employed the means of persuasion which appeared to me best calculated for success. After an hour and a half's conversation, Napoleon at last yielded to my urgent recommendations. He appeared touched with the frankness and energy with which I spoke, while at the same time I preserved the respect which was due to his rank, and still more to his misfortunes. In a word, I left the Emperor with the assurance that he would transmit his act of abdication, and I arrived at the Chamber of Representatives before the forfeiture, which was then under consideration, became the subject of positive decree.”

It was evidently the intention of Bonaparte, on his return to Paris, to render himself independent of the legislative assembly, by proclaiming himself dictator; and in this measure he was encouraged by his brother Prince Lucien. He knew himself to be personally proscribed by the allies; and he could hardly think that the Chambers would expose the-

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Activity of M. de la Fayette.

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kingdom to the vengeance of enraged enemies, and the horrors of a civil war, merely for the purpose of sustaining him in the imperial dignity. The agitation of this question, however, among Napoleon's council was not so secret, but that some intimation of the project reached a member of the House of Representatives, who had been too early skilled in revolutions not to know, that the utmost dispatch was necessary to render the scheme abortive.

M. de la Fayette, therefore, hurried to the house, which had assembled at an earlier hour than usual, as the news of Bonaparte's arrival had circulated through Paris. He found the president occupied in correcting some defects of grammar in the process-verbal of the preceding day. "Leave your erratas," he exclaimed, "there is other matter for discussion; hasten to open the sitting, and give me the parole." "Representatives," said M. de la Fayette, "it is now twenty-five years since I raised my voice in this tribune of liberty: the country is in danger, and can be saved by you alone. The sinister reports which have circulated these two days past, are unhappily confirmed. It is you whom it behooves to rally the whole country around the national standard, the standard of 1789, of liberty, equality, and public order: it is to you to whom it belongs to defend the independence and the honour of France against the pretensions of the enemy.

"A veteran in the cause of liberty, a stranger to the spirit of faction, I am come to propose to you the previous measures which the crisis into which

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Decrees of the Chambers.

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the nation is plunged demands; I am assured that all my colleagues will feel their necessity."

The first of these propositions was to declare that the independence of the country is threatened; the second, that the house shall declare itself permanent; that all attempts to dissolve it are high treason, and that any one who shall be guilty of this crime shall be immediately arraigned as a traitor to his country. The third proposition consisted of thanks to the army, and the national guard; the fourth was an invitation to the minister of the interior to convoke the staff officers of the national guard, and procure arms for every citizen who should be called to serve in it; the last was an invitation to the ministers to repair to the house, and answer all questions that should be made them.

No explanation was demanded by any member of the cause of these alarming propositions; it was sufficient that they were made by M. de la Fayette, and that Bonaparte was in Paris. The three first of these motions were immediately converted into laws. The national guard flocked round the assembly without waiting a law: but the ministers obeyed the summons of the Chamber with less alacrity.

By the publicity given to the project of Napoleon, the measure became, if not impracticable, at least much more difficult; and after the conferences recited above, no alternative was left to him but an abdication. The representations of Solignac had drawn him to this conclusion, which was not yielded, however, but with apparently great reluctance;



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Bonaparte's formal abdication.

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and even then he wished to make a virtue of his necessity. "The honour and glory of France have been the objects of my life," said he; "you know it; and it shall not be said that my personal interests shall ever stand in the way of their attainment;—may you succeed without me;—I abdicate;—may the allies have been really sincere in their communication." Napoleon immediately transmitted to the Assembly the following

## DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH.

Paris, June 23.

"FRENCHMEN!—In commencing a war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France—may they prove sincere in their declarations, and really direct them only against my power. My political life is terminated; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II. emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the chambers to form, without delay, the regency by a law.

"Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON."

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Bonaparte receives the thanks of the assembly.

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The assembly having sent a deputation to offer him their thanks for this communication, he received them, surrounded by all the great officers of his household, and those of his guard, with all the pomp suitable to the imperial dignity of which he was about to be deprived. His figure and deportment were calm; he said that a great disaster had happened, but that the territory was yet untouched; he spoke of the sacrifice which he made, at the desire of the chamber, to public circumstances, and to his tenderness for his son. The deputation withdrew, observing the most respectful ceremonies, promising to mention to the assembly that part of his message that related to his son.

Bonaparte thus surrendered his authority, while surrounded by soldiers and the federes, who still manifested strong marks of devotedness to their humbled chief. Some efforts were also made by his more zealous partizans, to induce him to put himself at the head of the forces. But either really unwilling to draw down miseries upon the nation, or considering any effort to retrieve his fallen fortunes hopeless, he declined the importunity, and caused the following address to be distributed among the troops:—

*Napoleon to the brave soldiers of the army  
before Paris.*

“SOLDIERS!—While obeying the necessity which removes me from the brave French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by

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Bonaparte's address to the army before Paris.

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the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps, though absent; I know all the corps, and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it shall have displayed. Both you and I have been calumniated; men very unfit to appreciate our labours, have seen in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.

“ Let your future success tell them that it was the country above all things which you served by obeying me; and that if I have any share in your affection, I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

“ Soldiers! some efforts more and the coalition is dissolved; Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike.

“ Save the honour, the independence of the French. Be to the last the same men that I have known you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed)                      NAPOLEON.”

Immediately after his abdication, Napoleon left Paris; but not before having stipulated with the persons exercising the functions of government, for two frigates to be at his own disposal, to transport himself and suite from the kingdom. He first withdrew to Malmaison, where he employed himself for

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Last effort of Bonaparte's ambition fails.

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his intended voyage, and in conversing with men of letters and artists. The chief topic of his discourse with those persons was the errors and abuses of his own government; but in discussing the late events he always spoke in the third person, and as if he himself had no immediate concern in those operations.

It is very obvious, however, that the magnanimity of the French Emperor was insufficient to repress the still lingering wishes he indulged for government. Before he set off for Rochefort, which was fixed upon as affording the greatest facilities for escape, he attempted a last effort in order to induce the provisional government to place him again at the head of the army; and accordingly on the 29th of June, dispatched the following message to Paris:---“ I know the position of the enemy, their advanced corps is not numerous.— There is only occasion to show the moral force of our army, the hope of the soldiers would revive on seeing their old general. In abdicating the power, I have not renounced the glorious title of every citizen—that of defending my country. If it be required, I answer for beating the enemy, and inspiring the army with dispositions which shall procure you more favourable negociations. This object gained, I engage on my word to re-ascend my carriage, and to pursue my route to the place which I have chosen.” This application, on which Napoleon probably relied with great confidence, completely failed; an answer was returned, that it was



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Consternation of the Parisians at the defeat of Bonaparte.

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too late; that negociations with the allied commanders had already commenced.

It is necessary now to direct the attention of the reader to the operations of the allied commanders, subsequent to the glorious victory of the 18th. and trace their successful progress to the completion of those grand events for which all Europe is indebted to their skill and bravery.

It would be difficult to describe the effect which the disastrous and unexpected news of the final overthrow of the French army produced on the minds of the Parisians. They had been taught to expect the complete triumph of their military exertions, under the command of the “Invincible Emperor;” and these sanguine expectations had been confirmed by the bulletin they had received, announcing the defeat of the Prussians: nothing could arrest, they conceived, the victorious career of their beloved Emperor. The fascinating prospect of France becoming once more the arbitress of the surrounding nations was in view, and her native pride was again roused in consequence of this prospect. A thirst of vengeance upon those armies by whom her military fame, and national greatness, had so recently been humbled, was the spirit by which they were actuated; and they had already, in imagination, not only recovered their former glory, but amply revenged themselves on those by whom, for a short season, they had been despoiled of it.—At this crisis the afflictive intelligence was received,

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The allied armies approach France.

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which put a period to all their aerial dreams of future greatness. The Emperor was arrived, his legions destroyed, and the victorious armies of the allies were approaching with rapid strides to the capital of France. The ardour of their previous expectations was now succeeded by the most gloomy despondency; every countenance wore the features of consternation and despair. Those individuals who had taken an active part in supporting the government of Napoleon, had justly to dread punishment for their treasons from the re-establishment of the legitimate authority; and those who had remained neutral and undistinguished in political transactions, could not but view with appalling fears the approach of hostile and exasperated armies, from whom, having once taken and spared the capital, they could expect nothing for the city but the most rigorous exactions, if not its total destruction. And although amongst the members of the legislative body, many fiery spirits were to be found prepared to carry into action the most desperate efforts of resistance, it was justly inferred that the activity of the conquering armies would prevent the execution of any measures of defence which the panic-struck government might attempt to organize. Such indeed was the fact, for the Duke of Wellington and the Prussian commander, fully sensible of the importance of following up with undiminished vigour the advantages already gained, lost not a moment in pursuing their victorious career. Marshal Blücher crossed the Sambre on the 19th of June, after

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Lord Wellington's proclamation to the French.

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taking leave of the Belgic provinces in a congratulatory address. The British commander also, having given the necessary refreshments, and a little rest to his brave troops, and provided, as well as circumstances would allow, for his numerous wounded, began his march to what the French, in the days of their prosperity, ostentatiously denominated the *sacred territory*. Both armies were in France on the 21st, the Prussians by Beaumont, and the British by Bavay. On this occasion, Lord Wellington published an order to the army, enjoining the most rigorous discipline on the part of his troops, stating that France should be treated as a friendly country; requiring that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment should not be made, and forbidding the extorting of contributions. At the same time, his lordship addressed the following

#### PROCLAMATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

“ I acquaint all Frenchmen that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen know, that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary, that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorized, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly

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Cambray taken.

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retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partizans, and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

“ WELLINGTON.”

The broken remnant of the French army which had fought at Waterloo, retired upon Laon, in a most wretched state, and in addition to its losses in battle, and in prisoners, it was greatly diminished by desertion. The soldiers quitted their regiments in parties, and returned to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country. General Grouchy's corps remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th. when it commenced its retreat by way of Namur and Dinant, suffering considerably, and losing some of its cannon.

No efficient body of troops now opposed themselves between the allied armies and the French capital. On the 23d of June, Sir Charles Colville, with a division of the army, presented himself before Cambray; the town was taken by escalade, and on the evening of the 25th the citadel capitulated. This place was formally delivered up to the unfortunate king, who had taken up his residence at Ghent, from the time of the defection of the garrison of Lisle, and he entered it on the 26th with his court. On the same day Lord Wellington attacked and carried Peronne. The delay occa-



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Address of the French government to the allied commanders.

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sioned by the taking of these two places, and the necessity of waiting for his stores, had placed the Prussians a day's march in advance of the British, but in the absence of the enemy's troops no inconvenience was experienced from the separation of the two armies. On the 28th Marshal Blucher had one corps at Crespy, with detachments at Vellars Coterets and La Ferte Milon; another at Senlis, and the fourth corps, under General Bulow, towards Paris. The Duke's army had its right behind St. Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high-road from Compeigne joins the high-road from Roye to Paris.

By this time Napoleon had given in his abdication, and the direction of affairs had devolved upon a provisional government, whose members consisted of Fouché, Carnot, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. The first act of the executive commission was the sending of an embassy to the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, to stop the march of their armies, and gain information of their intentions relative to peace. The plenipotentiaries were General la Fayette, M. de la Foret, General Sebastiani, M. d'Argenson, and M. Constant. On their arrival at Laon, they addressed the following letter to the Duke and the Marshal:—

*Laon, June 25th.*

“The changes which have taken place in the government of France, by the abdication of emperor Napoleon, accepted in the name of the French people by their representatives, having removed the obstacles which had hindered, till this day, the

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Blucher's conditions for a suspension of hostilities.

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opening of a negotiation, calculated to prevent the evils of war, between France and the high allied powers, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have received full power for negotiating the conclusion and signature of all acts which may conduce to stop the effusion of blood, and re-establish, upon a stable foundation, the general peace of Europe. They have, therefore, the honour to give this information to his highness the General-in-Chief, Prince Blucher, and to beg him to enable them immediately to repair to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, and to confer previously with him on the subject of a general suspension of arms between the French and the allied armies, a suspension which has been already demanded by the French general commanding the van-guard of the army of the north, and virtually agreed upon between our respective out-posts. The plenipotentiaries request his Highness the General-in-Chief, Prince Blucher, to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed)

Count HORACE SEBASTIANI,  
Count DE LA FORET,  
LA FAYETTE,  
B. CONSTANT, Counsellor of State.  
D'ARGENSON."

Blucher demanded, as the conditions of a suspension of hostilities, that not only the fortified posts before and around him should be given up, but that all those of the Ardennes and Lorraine, should be evacuated. The plenipotentiaries could not accept these conditions; and surmounting some difficulties thrown in their way, they proceeded to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Hagenau. For some time the monarchs and their first ministers, declined any intercourse with the commissioners, but after considerable procrastinations, purposely created, the English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussian ambassadors, held confer-

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Letter of Davoust to Lord Wellington.

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ences with them, but finally dismissed them on the pretext that the negotiations could not commence at Haguenau. On the 30th, Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmuhl, to whom had been confided the command of the French armies, addressed the following letter to the allied commanders, with the view of inducing them not to approach Paris; but they replied to this demand by occupying such positions as were most favourable for attacking the defences around that city.

“ MY LORD,—Your hostile movements continue, although, according to their declarations, the motives of the war which the allied sovereigns make upon us, no longer exist, since the emperor Napoleon has abdicated. At the moment when blood is again on the point of flowing, I receive, from Marshal the Duke of Albufera, a telegraphic dispatch, of which I transmit you a copy. My Lord, I guarantee this armistice on my honour. All the reasons you might have had to continue hostilities are destroyed, because you can have no other instructions from your government than that which the Austrian generals had from theirs. I make the formal demand to your excellency of ceasing all hostilities, and that we proceed to form an armistice, awaiting the decision of congress. I cannot believe, my lord, that my request will remain ineffectual: you will take upon yourself a great responsibility in the eyes of your noble fellow-countrymen. No other motive but that of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the interests of my country, have dictated this letter. If I present myself on the field of battle with the idea of your talents, I shall carry the conviction of there combating for the most sacred of causes, that of the defence and independence of my country: and, whatever may be the result, I shall merit your esteem. Accept, I beg you, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Marshal Prince of ECKMUHL,

Minister at War.”

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The Duke of Wellington invites the French generals to a conference.

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The advanced guard of the Duke's army crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the whole on the 30th, and on the first of July took up a position with his right on the height of Rochebourg, and his left upon the Bois de Bondy. Marshal Blucher having taken the village of Vertus on the morning of the 30th, moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain; and on the 2nd of July he had his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles. The enemy had fortified the heights of Montmatre and the town of St. Denis strongly, and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and la Ville Mar, they succeeded in inundating the ground on the north side of that town, and water having been introduced into the canal de l'Ourq, and the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, they had a strong position on that side of Paris.—The heights of Belleville were likewise strongly fortified. Having collected in Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of the 18th, and all the depots of the whole army, the enemy had there about 50,000 troops of the line and guards, a new levy, called les Tirailleurs de la Garde, and the Federes.

On Monday the 3d of July, the French armies were drawn out on the plains of Grenelle, to the south-west of the city; the morning was passed in preparations and manœuvres for battle. But the Duke of Wellington invited the French generals to a conference; when he led them through his ranks, displayed his positions, plans and resources, and



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Capitulation of Paris.

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allowed them the necessary time for deliberation. During the day, the following capitulation was signed, by which the further effusion of blood was prevented:—

## CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by his highness the Prince Blucher, and his excellency the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

Art. II. The French army shall put itself to march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days: and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depots shall be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders in chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the Federes, or with the Tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Owen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after

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Capitulation of Paris.

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to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmatre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gend'armerie.

Art. X. The commanders in chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

Art. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected, and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

Art. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and, in general, all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

Art. XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

Art. XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days before-hand.

Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army, and of the city of Paris.

Art. XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependent.

Art. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Art. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective

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General dissatisfaction on the return of Louis.

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parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

(Signed) The Baron BIGNON.—Count GUILLEMONT.  
Count DE BONDY.—The Baron DE MUFFLING.  
F. B. HERVEY, Colonel.

Approved and ratified, the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815.

Approved, (Signed) Marshal the Prince D'ECKMUHL.

In consequence of this convention, the allied troops occupied the barriers of Paris on the 6th, took possession of the city on the 7th, and on the following day the fugitive monarch again entered the capital.

It would be in vain to disguise the fact, that the return of Louis to the throne was an event which was extremely disrelished by a great part of the capital and the nation. His private virtues but ill supplied that active bustle to which the French had been accustomed in the person of their ruler; and the national sacrifices which he had been compelled to make on the conclusion of the late peace, contributed not a little, though unjustly, to render him unpopular. It will probably require as long a period to make a Bourbon stable upon the French throne (unless by the exercise of despotic authority,) as it has taken to revolutionize the moral character of the nation.

But however revolting the idea, to persons who venerate the principles of liberty, of forcing upon any people a form of government inimical to their

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Decree of the French legislature.

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wishes ; yet it is difficult to say, under existing circumstances, what different steps the allies could have adopted, consistent with their security, and the repose of the world. Most of the members who composed the government, and many of the legislative body, were characters who had distinguished themselves in the revolutionary warfare ; and these stubborn republicans were prepared to establish a government suitable to their own views.

While the allied armies were close under the walls of Paris, the French legislative bodies laboured uninterruptedly in forming a new constitution and a bill of rights, in conformity to the example of the English at the epocha of their revolution. While the cannon of the besiegers were sounding in the ears of these legislators, they decreed that an address should be made to the allied powers, declaring that the Bourbons were rejected as the enemies of the French nation ; and that no proposition of peace, which should tend to the re-establishment of this family, would be received or listened to, and that the French were resolved to perish, rather than submit to such a yoke. This decree of the chamber was ordered to be distributed to the army.

The allied armies, agreeably to the capitulation, having entered Paris, an English and Prussian camp were formed in the Champs Elysees. A message from the provisional government announced that, although the allied sovereigns had appeared undecided in the choice of a prince to take the



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The Chamber of Peers separate.

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crown of France, they had on the preceding day, made a declaration by their ministers and generals, “ that all the sovereigns were engaged to place Louis 18th on the throne”—that he was to make his immediate entry into the capital, and that the Thuilleries were now in the possession of the foreign troops. In this state of things, “ we have nothing to do,” add they, “ but to offer our vows to the country ; and as our deliberations are no longer free, we deem it our duty to separate.”

The chamber of peers heard the sentence of the allied sovereigns, and withdrew from the Luxembourg in silence ; the commons were not so courtly disposed. They were hearing the report of the commission on some part of the constitution which they were about to frame, when the message of the commission of government interrupted the speaker at the tribune. The debate on the constitution was, however, continued, and the orator terminated his speech. The assembly then reluctantly retired.

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Allied forces brought into France.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Allied forces brought into France—Decrees of the French king—Death of Labedoyere—Trial and execution of Marshal Ney—The king grants an amnesty—Bonaparte's surrender to Captain Maitland—His conduct on board the Bellerophon—Protest against the decree of the British government, for his banishment to St. Helena—His arrival at the island—Description of it, &c.—Conclusion.*

AFTER the entrance of Louis into Paris, the capital became a camp for the allies, amounting to 200,000 men. The Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, and Wirtembergers, arrived with the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia. In the occupation of Paris during the preceding year, the allies had burdened the soil of France as little as possible with their armies, but now that people were likely to feel a pressing measure of those calamities which they had drawn upon themselves ; for the whole of the combined forces which were now actually upon the French territory, were estimated as follows :—Austrians 250,000—Prussians 250,000—Russians 200,000—English and Hanoverians 80,000—Bavarians and Wirtembergers 110,000 ; besides the staff with the sovereigns, making nearly 1,000,000.

On the re-assumption of his authority, a degree of severity marked Louis's administration. In one ordonnance he excluded twenty-nine individuals from

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Decrees of the French king.

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among the body of peers, in which number were included four marshals and an archbishop. In another nineteen generals were proscribed, who, he says, betrayed him previous to the 21st of March, and thus attacked France and the government with arms in their hands. By a third, about forty other individuals, who had been distinguished under the imperial government, were banished from the country, having liberty, however, to sell their estates. Among these were Marshal Soult, Duke of Bassano, Carnot, and Generals Excelmans and Vandamme.

The interesting young Labedoyere was the first who was destined to suffer for his treachery and rebellion.

The crime of this officer was the first example of that military defection which thenceforward became general. On the news of Bonaparte's landing, he was ordered with his regiment, by General Devilliers, from Chambray to Grenoble, where the troops were assembled to stop the progress of the usurper. He was placed in bivouac on the ramparts, where he incited his soldiers to revolt, and led them out to join the invader. He had scarce left the town, when he drew his sword, and cried out, *Vive l'Empereur!*—He then broke open a chest, whence he took a rebel eagle, placed it on the top of a branch of a tree, marched under it to join Napoleon, and returned with him the same evening to take possession of Grenoble. His crime was the more marked, as his superior officer, Gen. Devilliers, followed and tried in vain to bring him back, having already persuaded

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Colonel Labedoyere,

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about 100 of the soldiers to return to their duty.—“The king,” said he, “gave me the regiment, and I led it to his destruction by calling, Long live the Emperor.” Colonel Labedoyere was at Auvergne when he received information of the royal ordinance respecting him, embarrassed doubtless as to the conduct he should pursue to come to Paris, where he hoped to find better means than elsewhere of eluding the research and the execution of the measures of which he was the object: he took a false name, and disguising his appearance as much as possible, threw himself into a diligence that was going to Paris, and in this manner arrived in the capital, where he took up his temporary lodgings at the house of a female friend of his wife’s, where he was discovered, and arrested by the officers of the police, and by them immediately conducted to the prefecture, where he underwent a first examination. On his trial, he displayed the most determined constancy to the principles by which he had been actuated in his defection; he pleaded that he knew not the Bourbons;—that he knew only Napoleon; that Louis stood pledged to establish a free constitution, in which he failed; and that the flight of Louis to Ghent, was an abdication like that of our James II. which absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

The limits by which we are bound, will not admit of entering into the full particulars of the trial of this officer; we shall, therefore, content ourselves by stating, that the accused was found guilty of the



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Colonel Labedoyere.

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crimes alleged against him, and sentence of death was in consequence pronounced upon him. All the efforts of his distressed wife and mother, to procure his pardon were ineffectual. The king, to whom these applications were made, in answer to their solicitations, replied, that were he to consult only his own feelings, the object of their wishes should not be withheld; but that all France loudly demanded the punishment of the man who had drawn upon her all the scourges of war; and notwithstanding the emotions by which his feelings were agitated, in giving a refusal to their request, it was a subject of necessity, and must be executed. But the king, who knows how to join goodness with justice, condescended to promise Madame Labedoyere his protection for her and her child. On the evening appointed for the execution of Labedoyere, he was escorted to the plain of Grenelle by a strong detachment of gen d'armerie, accompanied by his confessor. On his arrival at the fatal spot, he threw himself on his knees, and received the benediction of the priest; and immediately, without waiting, according to custom, until his eyes were bandaged, he firmly advanced a few paces in front of the veterans who were to fire upon him, exclaiming, "Above all, do not miss me." An instant afterwards he was no more.

The administration of the French king at this period was in most embarrassing circumstances.—Perhaps two-thirds of the great men in France, besides the greatest part of the population, had taken

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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part with the ex-emperor in his last usurpation.— To have passed over in silence the treasons of all, would certainly have betrayed a weakness and imbecility that might expose his authority to contempt ; and on the other hand, to attempt to punish to the extent of the alleged political crimes, might create a spirit of resistance which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to subdue.

In this dilemma, the king's government determined on some illustrious examples of punishment ; Labedoyere had already suffered, but a more distinguished personage was wanting, on whom to exercise the severity of justice ; one who was beloved by the people, and still more by the army ; and this object was found in the person of Marshal Ney, who had also been foremost in assisting the designs of Bonaparte on the late invasion. This distinguished officer was arrested, and brought to trial before the Bourbon House of Peers. The following is a short summary of the trial.

Before the court was opened, a memorial, entitled “ The effects of the military convention of the 3d of July, and the treaty of the 20th of November, relative to the accusation of Marshal Ney,” was distributed. The president then put to the marshal several interrogatories. He replied, that he was at his estate when he received the order to proceed to Besancon, and did not know of Bonaparte's landing till he arrived at Paris. He saw the king. “ It is said, that I told the king I would bring back Bonaparte in an iron cage. If I said so, it was a foolish thing, but still a pardonable one. It proved

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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that I had in my heart (striking his breast,) the intention of serving the king!"

*Count de Bourmont.*—I have read that Marshal Ney says I approved of his proclamation of the 14th of March; I will give a detailed explanation. I was with the Marshal, General Lecourbe came in; the marshal said to him, "I was telling the Count de Bourmont that all was prepared in such a manner, that the troops might reach the emperor; the king had quitted Paris; no harm was to be done to him; wo to the man who should do any. He is a good prince, but he will be sent on board a ship.—What now remains for us to do?" "Join Bonaparte." What! said Lecourbe, I have no reason to rally under that——The king never did me any thing but good, and the other nothing but harm. Besides, I have honour, and therefore will not join Bonaparte. *And I too, said the marshal, and therefore I will join him. I will not have my wife come back every night with tears in her eyes, on account of ill treatment.* After half an hour's discussion, he took up a paper from the table, and read the proclamation.

*Marshal Ney.*—It appears that M. de Bourmont has got his part. He thought I should be treated as Labedoyere, and that we should never see each other again; but at last here we are face to face.—I appeal to M. de Bourmont, before God, who hears us, if he did not say he was quite satisfied with the proclamation.

[M. de Bourmont made a sign, that the assertion was not true.]

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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M. Batardi deposed, that he first, on the 7th of March, informed Ney of Bonaparte's landing. The Marshal said, "O my God! what a misfortune!"

Lieut. Gen. Count Heudelet was called, and declared that he served under the Marshal's orders.—At Dijon the insurrection had broken out, and it was impossible to stop it. There was a bad spirit in all the troops, even the gend'armerie was bad.—The insurrection of Bonaparte's partizans was general, and the minority of good servants of the king was evident. It was the same in the country parts, which openly announced the intention of joining Bonaparte.

*M. Berryer.*—Do you think Marshal Ney, with the forces he had, could have successfully opposed the progress of Bonaparte?

*Witness.*—No; with the four incomplete regiments he had, it was impossible.

*Marshal Davoust* deposed, that in the night of the 2nd of July, all was prepared for fighting; the commission had sent an order to come to an understanding with the allied generals; firing had already begun; I sent to the advanced posts to stop the effusion of blood; the commission had remitted the project of a convention; I added to it all that related to the demarcation of the military line; I added to it articles relative to the safety of persons and property; and I especially charged the commissioners to break off the conferences, if those dispositions were not ratified. Marshal Blucher was at



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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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St. Cloud ; the Duke of Wellington was, I think, at Genosse. He had repaired to St. Cloud, when he was informed of the conferences. It was there the convention was signed. I had 25,000 cavalry, and from four to five hundred pieces of cannon. If the French had been quick in flying, they had been quick in rallying under the walls of Paris.

What was the sense which he and the provisional government attached to the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris ?

*The Attorney-General.*—The king's commissioners object to this indiscreet question. The discussion, I see it well, will turn upon the capitulation. But the act exists as it exists. The opinion of the prince cannot change it. An act cannot be altered by declarations.

*Marshal Ney.*—The declaration was so protecting that it was upon that I relied. Without it, is it to be believed that I would not have preferred dying sword in hand ? It is in contradiction to this capitulation that I was arrested, and it was on the faith of it that I remained in France.

*President.*—The meaning of the capitulation is to be found in the document itself. The opinion which each individual may have of its sense, is of no importance. In virtue of the discretionary power conferred upon me, I decide the question shall not be put.

*Count Bondy*, formerly prefect of the Seine, who signed the convention, deposed, that the principal basis of the convention was the public tranquillity,

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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the security of Paris, and the respect of persons and property. It was with a view to these objects that it was drawn up, and proposed to the generals Blücher and Wellington. There was some discussion on these points, but no difficulty was made relative to the 12th article, which was accepted in a manner calculated to give the most complete assurance to those comprehended under it.

*M. Guilemot* deposed to the part he had in the capitulation of Paris. "As chief of the staff, I was charged with stipulating for an amnesty in favour of persons, whatever might be their opinions, their offices, or their conduct. This point was granted without any dispute. My orders were to break off the conferences, had any refusal been made." This article induced him to lay down his arms.

Why were Messrs. Boigny and Bondy joined with you?

*Ans.*—They stipulated for the civil persons, as I did for the military.

On the 6th, *M. Berryer* entered upon the defence of Marshal Ney. Having alluded to the convention of the 3d of July—

The Attorney-General said, I have considered it my duty to save the counsel of the accused from one disgrace in an affair which is already but too disgraceful. We are Frenchmen, and we have French laws, and it is singular when a Frenchman is accused, that a convention signed by English and Prussians should be appealed to. The king's commissioners ought to have already opposed the plead-

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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ing of this defence, but they did not, because they hoped that the defenders of the accused would upon better consideration have abandoned it. They have acted otherwise. It is now clear to every one, that they mean to rely on this military convention, and the moment therefore is arrived for the king's Attorney-General to make a formal opposition to such a proceeding. This military convention is the work of foreigners. It was not ratified, nor even approved by the king. Besides, had the defenders of the accused wished to plead their defence, they were restricted even by the decision of the court to do so cumulatively. The only thing now to be considered is the substance of the question on which pleadings can alone be admitted. On these grounds and considerations the king's commissioners require, that the defenders of the accused be formally interdicted from availing themselves of the convention of the 3d of July, and from reading it in the defence of the accused.

*The President.*—I might have taken it upon myself, in virtue of the discretionary power with which I am invested, to oppose the introduction of an objection which should have been brought forward at the commencement of the trial, and at the time pointed out by the chamber of peers for presenting all the objections cumulatively; but I thought it right to consult the chamber, in order that I might be supported by its opinion. That opinion concurs with mine in the impropriety of appealing to a convention purely military, absolutely foreign to the

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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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king, who never ratified or approved it ;—a convention by which his majesty considered himself so little bound, that twenty-three days after he issued the ordonnance of the 24th of July, by which he referred to the tribunals several of those who were to have profited by this convention ; an ordonnance issued, while the troops of the allied powers still occupied the capital, and countersigned by the minister of the king, who was president of what was called the provisional government, at the period of the 3d of July. Consequently, confirmed by the opinion of the peers, and the sentiments of my duty, I interdict the defenders of the accused from making any use in their pleadings of the pretended convention of the 3d of July.

*M. Dupin, advocate.*—The marshal is not only under the protection of the French laws, but he is under the protection of the law of nations. I speak not of the convention, but of the limits traced by the treaty of the 20th of November, which certainly is an act solemn and legal, which we may invoke, since it is to that we owe the happy peace we now enjoy. The treaty of the 20th of November, in tracing a new line round France, has left on the right Sarrebruck, the country of the marshal. The marshal, Frenchman as he is in heart, is no longer a Frenchman since the treaty—

*Marshal Ney*, much affected, and with vehemence —“ Yes, I am a Frenchman ! I will die a Frenchman ! ” I beg his excellency to hear what I have to say. Hitherto my defence has been free ; I perceive



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Trial of Marshal Ney.

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it is wished to render it otherwise. I thank my counsel for what they have done and are ready to do ; but desire them rather to cease defending me at all, than to defend me imperfectly. I had rather not be defended at all, than have the mere shadow of defence. I am accused against the faith of treaties, and they will not let me justify myself. I will act like Moreau ; I appeal to Europe and to posterity !

*The President.*—Gentlemen, the defenders of the accused, continue the defence by confining yourselves within the circle marked out for you. The chamber of peers in its wisdom will appreciate the means you shall deem to be most suitable.

*Marshal Ney.*—I forbid my counsel from saying a word more. Your excellency will give what orders you please. The chamber may judge me. But I forbid my counsel to speak, unless they are permitted to make use of all the means in their power.

[A profound silence reigned for a short time in the chamber.]

*M. Bellart*, after a conference with the king's minister, rose.—We have a right, and it is our duty to refute the captious means that have been resorted to—but since the marshal renounces all further defence, we renounce the right of reply. I shall now present the requisition, upon which the chamber will retire to deliberate:—To condemn Marshal Ney, Marshal of France, Duke of Elchingen, Prince of the Moskwa, to the penalty declared in the said dispositions, in the form prescribed by the decree of the 12th of May, 1793.

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Condemnation of Marshal Ney.

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*President.*—Accused, have you any thing to say on the application of the penalty?

*Marshal Ney* (rising, and with a firm tone,)—Not another word, my lord.

*President.*—The chamber having deliberated six hours, declares the accused guilty of the crimes provided against by articles 77, 87, 102, of the penal code—1 and 5 of title 1st of the law of the 21st Brumaire, year 5, and of article 1st of title 3d of the same law;—Therefore, in application of the said articles, it condemns Marshal Ney, Marshal of France, Duke of Elchingen, Prince of Moskwa, late Peer of France, to the full punishment of death, and the expenses of the trial; and orders that the decree shall be executed conformably to the dispositions of the law of the 12th of May, 1797, by the care of the king's commissioners.

Marshal Ney not being present when his condemnation was pronounced, the secretary was charged to notify it to him.

The marshal, upon returning to his chamber, whilst the peers were deliberating upon his fate, appeared to be animated and sustained by a feeling of deep resolution. He pressed his advocate in his arms, who said to him, “You would have it so.”—It is all over, my dear friend, replied the marshal; we shall see each other again in the other world.—He asked for dinner, and ate with good appetite. He thought that a small knife was the object of attention and uneasiness to the persons charged to guard him. “Do you think (he said, looking at them) that

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His conduct after condemnation.

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I fear death?" and then threw the knife some distance from him. After dinner he smoked a cigar tranquilly, then lay down and slept, or seemed to sleep, for a couple of hours.

This sentence was carried into execution on the morning of the 7th, at twenty minutes past nine o'clock. From three in the morning, the guard of the condemned marshal had been given up to the commandant of Paris. Marshal Ney seemed to be in a sound sleep when the secretary of the chamber repaired to him to read his sentence. Before he proceeded to read it, he attempted to address some kind words to him, to testify how painful it was to him to be forced to discharge so sad an office.—“Sir,” said the marshal, stopping him, “do your duty; every one must do his duty—read.”

Upon the preamble being read, he said, impatiently, “to the fact, to the fact at once.” When his titles were detailed, he observed, “What good can this do? Marshal Ney, then a heap of dust, that is all.” When M. Cauchy came to that article relating to the succession to the crown—“That law,” exclaimed the marshal, “cannot be applicable to me—it is for the imperial family it was made.” The secretary then retired, and the marshal, throwing himself in his clothes on the bed, soon fell asleep.

At four o'clock in the morning he was awakened by the arrival of the mareschal, his wife, with her children, and Madame Gamon, his sister. The unfortunate wife, as soon as she entered the chamber, fell in a fit on the ground. The marshal and his

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The morning of the execution.

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guard raised her. To a long fainting fit succeeded tears and groans. Madame Gamon, on her knees before the marshal, was not in a less deplorable condition. The children, silent and sad, did not weep. The eldest appeared to be about eleven years of age. The marshal spoke to them a long time, but in a low tone of voice. On a sudden he rose, and entreated his family to withdraw.

Left alone with his guards, he walked up and down the chamber. One of them, a grenadier of Laroche Jaquelin, said to him, " Marshal, in the situation in which you are, should you not think of God ? It is always good to reconcile oneself to God. I have seen many battles ; and every time I could, I confessed myself, and found myself always the better for it."

At nine, being informed that all was ready, the marshal gave the priest his hand, to help him into the coach, saying to him, " Get in first, M. le Cure, I shall be quicker than you on high." Two officers of gendarmerie were in the coach with him and the clergyman. About two hundred veterans, of the Royal Catholic army of La Vendee, accompanied the coach. The coach, traversing the garden of the Luxemburg, proceeded to the end of the grand alley that leads to the observatory, which was the spot fixed upon for the execution. On seeing the coach stop, the marshal, who thought they were going to carry him to the plain of Grenelle, expressed some surprise. Asking if that were the place of execution, he was answered in



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The execution.

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the affirmative, and immediately got out of the coach. After embracing his confessor, to whom he gave his snuff-box to give to Madame le Maréchal, and some pieces of gold to be distributed to the poor, he proceeded with a quick step to within eight paces of the wall. The confessor remained near the coach praying fervently. The marshal now faced the detachment of veterans who were to fire, and cried out in a strong and loud voice, at the same time taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right on his heart, "Comrades, straight to the heart,—FIRE!" The officer gave the signal at the same moment with his sword, and he fell dead without a single struggle. Twelve balls had taken effect; three in the head. There were but few persons present; for the populace believing that the execution would take place on the plain of Grenelle, had repaired thither.

On the day of the marshal's execution Madame Ney, like the people, ignorant of its having taken place, went to the Thuilleries at ten to implore the king's clemency; but the Duke of Duras, to whom she addressed herself in order to be introduced, was obliged to inform her that the marshal no longer existed.

Much doubt was entertained whether the French government would proceed to the length of bringing the marshal to punishment, as so many distinguished characters were equally involved in the same kind of treason. Having, however, advanced so far, the court, on the day following the execution,

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The king grants an amnesty.

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applied a panacea to the alarms of the people, by announcing to the deputies the project of a law, by which a full and complete amnesty was granted to all those who, either directly or indirectly, had taken part in the rebellion or usurpation of Napoleon Bonaparte; with the exception of those who had already been proscribed by the previous decrees, and with this specific notification:—"All the members of, or persons allied to, the family of Bonaparte, and their descendants to the degree of uncle and nephew, inclusively, are excluded for ever from the kingdom, and are required to leave it within one month, under the penalty decreed by article 91 of the penal code. They shall be incapacitated from enjoying any civil right there, or possessing any property, titles, annuities, or pensions granted to them gratuitously in that country; and they shall be required to sell within six months the property of all kinds which they shall have obtained for a valuable consideration."

The king had assembled the parliament on the 7th of October; and both chambers entered upon the business of the nation with zeal and unanimity. In his opening speech to the chambers, the king remarked, that the ephemeral usurpation which had but just been terminated, had deeply afflicted him. "Yet," continued he, "I ought to declare here, that had it been possible to affect none but myself, I should have blessed Providence. The marks of affection which my people have given me, in the most critical moments, have consoled me in every

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Personal sacrifices of the king.

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personal suffering; but those of my subjects, of my children, weigh upon my heart; and in order to put a period to this state of affairs, more burdensome even than the war itself, I have concluded with the powers, which, after having destroyed the usurper, still occupy a great part of our territory, a convention which regulates our present and future relations with them. It will be communicated to you without any restriction, as soon as it has received its last formality. You well know, gentlemen, and all France will know the profound grief I must have felt,—but the very safety of my kingdom rendered this great determination necessary, and when I took it, I felt the duties it imposed upon me. I have ordered that there should this year be paid from the treasury of my civil list, into the treasury of state, a considerable portion of my revenue. My family were no sooner informed of my resolution, than they offered me a proportionate gift. I have ordered similar diminutions in the salaries and expenses of all my servants, without exception. I shall always be ready to share sacrifices which imperious circumstances impose upon my people.”

This patriotic sacrifice on the part of the sovereign, was calculated to make the most favourable impression upon the people. When a nation is suffering under the pressure of pecuniary difficulties, the lavish expenditure of the prince, and a profligate distribution of salaries to the ministers, will necessarily be viewed with jealousy and disgust by

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Bonaparte leaves Malmaison for Rochefort.

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the subjects. But let the example of retrenchment and economy emanate from the court; let there be a disposition shown there to share in the abridgment of expense and luxury, and a submission to the necessities of the state will be endured with comparative cheerfulness, while stronger attachment to the throne will invariably be created. Such a system is dictated equally by that sympathy which princes ought to feel for the sufferings of their people, as by sound policy—and its beneficial influence is not to be measured by the amount of the sums which will thus revert to the national treasury;—its tendency is to unite the governors and the governed in one common feeling—to identify their interests—to draw closer the bonds of attachment and affection—and to inspire mutual confidence between the throne and the subject.

We shall now, for the last time, return to the degraded fugitive, Napoleon, and without further digression, trace the steps of this extraordinary character to his final destination, the rock of St. Helena; within whose narrow limits we may contemplate the prison of a man, for whose ambitious soul the whole globe itself is too confined.

Bonaparte finding his offer to place himself at the head of the army rejected by the chambers, immediately departed from Malmaison for Rochefort, whither he was accompanied by many carriages without escort. He arrived at the place of his destination on the 3d of July, and immediately proceeded to the hotel of the maritime prefecture. It was un-



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Events in the life of Fouche, Duke of Otranto.

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derstood by his suite, that he had fixed his purposes upon the one of two projects; he indulged an expectation that the chambers would recal him, and give the required aids in men and money, in which case he would have taken the command of the army of the Loire, and would doubtless have renewed the contest with the allies. In the event of the failure of these hopes, but only in that event, he proposed his embarkation.

The office of minister of police was held by the Duke of Otranto, Fouche,\* and this unprincipled

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\* *Events in the life of Fouche, the Duke of Otranto.*

In 1774, Fouche became a friar, and took the oath of celibacy.

In 1784, he renewed this oath, on being made a professor of the order called *Oratoire*.

In 1790, Fouche *married* a servant girl, from whom he was divorced in 1796. In 1815, he married, as a second wife, a nobleman's daughter.

Both in 1774 and 1784, Fouche, in taking the oath of celibacy, had also taken the oath of allegiance to the king as a subject, and to the Pope, as a friar.

In 1789, he took the oath of allegiance to the sovereign people, in rebellion against his King; and he abjured his religious order, contrary to his oath to the Pope.

In 1790, he took what was called the constitutional oath of the clergy, which violated all his former oaths.

In 1791, he took the then decreed oath of fidelity to the Nation, the Law, and the King.

In 1792, he took the oath of *hatred to Kings*, and of fidelity to the French Republic.

1793, (January) he voted for the death of his King.

In the same year he swore fidelity to Robespierre's constitution of equality and fraternity.

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Events in the life of Fouche, Duke of Otranto.

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man, who had recommended to his late master the port of Rochefort as the most likely for his escape, it seems had apprised the English government of his purpose; and prepared them to intercept him. Of this perfidious conduct, Napoleon was ignorant. For several days he remained undetermined, until it became evident to his friends, that a longer delay

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In the same year, and in the tribune of the Regicide Convention, he publicly *ajured Christianity* as an imposture.

In 1815, his intrigues made him a *Minister to his Most Christian Majesty*.

In 1794, at a Jacobin feast to the Goddess of Reason, he, at Lyons, as a representative of the people, ordered an ass to be decorated with various episcopal and clerical accoutrements, a cross to be tied round her neck, and a Bible to be tied to her tail, so as to be dragged in the mire. When on the "Place de Belcour," he made the ass drink out of a consecrated chalice, and then, amid the huzzas of *his Most Christian Majesty's* subjects, directed the accoutrements, the cross, and the Bible, to be burnt by the common executioner, and the ashes to be thrown in the air, as if in defiance of the God of his youth and of his forefathers.

In 1793 and 1794, he was also, as a representative, in La Vendee and at Nantes, where he assisted to plunder, to guillotine, and to drown, the nobles, the priests, and other royalists, so much so, that, after the death of Robespierre, even the regicide, cruel, and sanguinary convention, expelled him, for these revolutionary robberies and excesses.

In 1795, he took the oath of fidelity to another constitution of equality and fraternity.

1797, he took the same oath to the Directory, being appointed their Minister in Holland.

In 1799, he took the same oath to them, on being appointed by them Minister of Police.

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Events in the life of Fouche, Duke of Otranto.

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would become dangerous to his safety; and indeed the constituted authorities joined their representations for the necessity of his departure, apprehending that the expected change in the government might compel them to seize his person, or subject them to the penalty of disobedience of orders.—General Becker, and the maritime prefect there—

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In 1799, he took the same oath to the three Consuls, on receiving the same office, and after assisting them to overturn the Directory.

In 1802, he took, in the same quality, the same oath to Bonaparte, as First Consul for life.

Every year from 1794 to 1803, on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the murder of Louis XVI. he took the *oath of hatred to Royalty*, and to *all hereditary Sovereignty* in France.

In 1804, he took the oath of allegiance to Bonaparte, as Emperor and hereditary sovereign of France.

In 1810, he took the same oath to Bonaparte, on being created a Duke of Otranto and a Governor of Rome.

In 1814, he took the same oath to Louis XVIII. as a King, and hereditary sovereign of France.

In March, 1815, he took the same oath to Bonaparte, as Emperor and hereditary sovereign of France.

In June, 1815, he took the same oath to Napoleon II. as an Emperor and hereditary sovereign of France.

In July, 1815, he took the same oath to Louis XVIII. as a King and hereditary sovereign of France.

From March to July, 1815, he took, besides, as a Minister, the *oath of allegiance* to Napoleon I. to Napoleon II. and to Louis XVIII.; and as a member of the Executive Council, the *oath of allegiance* to the nation, and to a constitution *not yet made*.

And Fouche is a *Grand Officer* of the Legion of Honour, and “*an honourable man*,” according to Gallic morality!

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Bonaparte and his suite go on board two frigates.

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fore, unceasingly urged, that he was losing very valuable time in delaying at Rochefort; that the sea was open, and the wind favourable; that his continuance in France prevented the due settlement of affairs; and it was therefore expected that he would embark without loss of time. Thus importuned, on the 8th of July he went on board the Saal frigate, and ordered his suite to be distributed on board that vessel and the Medusa. On the morning of the 9th, he disembarked on the isle of Aix, and visited the fortifications. In the evening the wind was favourable, but the English frigates and the moonlight afforded his vessels but little hope of escaping. Thus circumstanced, on the following morning, he sent the Duke of Rovigo and Count las Casses to the British commodore, requiring of him permission to let him pass safely, and with a menace, that he would otherwise force his passage.

The English commander, Captain Maitland, replied, that he would accede to no such safe conduct; that his instructions were in conformity to the state of war between the two countries, and that of course he should resist such passage with all his force.

On the 11th, Napoleon learned that the chambers were dissolved, and that the king had made his entry into Paris. He had hitherto indulged the hope, that the chambers would support the pretensions of his son, the young Prince Napoleon of Austria, and that they would have recalled him to the command of the armies. These hopes were



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Negotiations for his reception on board the Bellerophon.

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now terminated, and he began to perceive the snare into which the Duke of Otranto had drawn him; that he was to become his peace-offering; and that he had in fact surrounded him by his spies and emissaries. He now became extremely indignant at the discovery of this artifice; and spoke of it as the most consummate villany.

As dangers of every kind were now thickening around him, Bonaparte again dispatched the same negociators to treat for his reception on board the Bellerophon. Captain Maitland remarked, that if the emperor would immediately embark for England, he was authorized to receive him, and take him thither. He added, that as a public character, he could not guarantee the determination which would be made as to his fate, but assured him, that as a private individual, and many other captains repeated it along with him, they had not a doubt but Napoleon would experience in England all the respectful treatment which he might wish for; that the English had a generosity of sentiment, a liberality of opinion even above sovereignty. Napoleon's envoys, encouraged by such professions, said they would go and communicate to the emperor the offer of the English captain, and the whole of the conversation.

All this time the force of the English was known to be increasing every day—all the passages were closed; two or three lines of vessels extended in a crescent on the open sea—the boats at night stood near the shores, and shut up the most secret outlets.

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Bonaparte's opinion of the Prince Regent.

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On another side, the white flag was flying upon the neighbouring coasts; the agitation was great, and civil war was at hand: it became urgent to decide upon something. The emperor was advised to join the army, or to throw himself into some of the troubled districts; and it was represented, that the arrival of Davoust, the disposition of Clausel, Lamarque, and that of the garrison of Rochefort and l'Isle d'Aix, rendered success possible, or good terms certain. Napoleon rejected the advice, as giving countenance to civil war, say his panegyrists; but most probably, because of the little probability of succeeding by hostile measures.

Nothing presented itself but the chasse-marees or the English fleet. He had private conferences with many of his suite, as his situation was become extremely critical. It was more easy for them to make objections than to give him counsel; and on his part it was more easy to combat an objection than to remove it. One of them, having expressed himself afraid, lest if he went to England his personal liberty and rights would be violated, he exclaimed with warmth, "That is impossible. If I have a correct opinion of the Prince of Wales, after what I have heard of him, he possesses the strength of mind and justice of an Edward, joined to the grace and gallantry of a Charles II. Characters of this kind do not let opportunities slip of doing glorious actions. The manner in which I shall be treated in England may adorn one of the finest pages of history. Ill treatment of my person

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Resolves to go on board the English fleet.

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would be an outrage against the laws, and would cover that people with shame, now that I can no longer do them an injury.

At last he assembled all his suite around him, and wished to have their opinion as to what should be done. The opinion was for the English fleet. Napoleon walked some time in silence, placing at times his hand upon his forehead. "The chassee-marees," said he, "are, doubtless, dangerous; but it is not the danger which I consider—it is the result, and I do not see it. If it be only to place our persons in safety, if it were in question to conquer an empire, to deliver a nation, in a word, to return from the island of Elba, there would be no room for hesitation; but I repeat it, in this case I do not see sufficient results. As to going to the enemy, the emperor of Russia has called himself my friend—the emperor of Austria is my father-in-law—there is neither of these sovereigns, I think, but would fix a great price to the high consideration I should manifest by going, in spite of the irritation of the moment, and throwing myself into their arms. However, I prefer giving this testimony to the English people, with whom I have never had any connexion, and whom I have always fought. Gentlemen, we will go on board the English fleet."

The generosity with which the allied sovereigns treated Napoleon, at the time of his first abdication, when by the fortune of war he was thrown into their power, must excite the applause of every candid person. We think the liberality of the

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Bonaparte's decision dictated by necessity.

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grants to himself and family, and the comforts and security guaranteed to him at Elba, reflected the highest credit on their moderation. But we can scarcely think that at this period he could ever seriously hope for an undisturbed residence in England. What! could the thought be endured, that he who had just violated his engagements, and thrown France into a new state of hostile convulsion; who had created a necessity for all the powers of Europe to raise immense armies for his subjugation,—that he should again be let loose upon the world, and suffered at the first suggestion of his ambition, or on the appearance of discontent in his adopted country, to renew those scenes of violence and bloodshed which had but just passed away? Yet these opportunities would have remained to him, if he had been permitted to become a resident in this country. The very circumstance of his being in England would have created and kept alive in France a restless spirit of rebellion there, and must have imposed upon our government the ungracious task of incarcerating him in a prison, or suffering ourselves and all Europe to remain in a continual state of alarm.

The pretence assumed by Bonaparte of voluntarily throwing himself upon the generosity of Britain, has no foundation in fact. He had only the choice of difficulties, and in surrendering himself into our hands, he adopted what he considered to be the least. When Napoleon had taken his resolution, and while he yet remained at Rochefort, he address-



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His letter to the Prince Regent.

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ed the following letter to the Prince Regent, which was dispatched to Captain Maitland, for the purpose of being transmitted to England :—

“ Exposed to the factions which divide France, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to assure myself of the hospitality of the British people. I claim from your Royal Highness the protection of the laws of England, and throw myself upon the most powerful, and the most constant, yet more generous, of my enemies.

NAPOLEON.”

Arrangements being completed for the reception of Bonaparte on board the *Bellerophon*, Count Las Cassas and some servants went on board on the evening of the 14th of July, to prepare for the arrival of their master, who, early on the following morning, made sail for the same destination. The state of the sea did not permit him to approach rapidly; and the English commodore perceiving him, dispatched the boats of his ship to assist. Bonaparte and his suite entered the barge upon its arrival, and reached the *Bellerophon* at seven o'clock in the morning. Marshal Bertrand entered the ship first, and informed Captain Maitland that “ the emperor was in the boat.” Napoleon immediately followed. When he came on the quarter-deck, he said, with much grace and dignity, “ Sir, I am come to claim the protection of your prince and laws.”

Captain Maitland received him as a general in chief (or, according to his instructions,) as a man of the first dignity, but not royal. The marines of the ship were drawn up, but did not pay him any ho-

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Bonaparte on board the *Bellerophon*.

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nours, except what are usual to military commanders in chief. But the natural feelings of the English gentlemen and of the seamen, suggested that respect which belonged to his condition; every one remembered that he was in presence of one who, with the sole exception of England, had been the acknowledged master of Europe: every one in their own sympathy felt and gave what was his due.

Bonaparte had scarcely reached his cabin, before he sent his compliments to Captain Maitland, and requested that the officers of the ship might be introduced to him. The captain and officers immediately attended him, and the captain introduced them severally. Napoleon received them with much grace and manliness, and it was impossible not to acknowledge that he was no ordinary man. Upon their being about to leave the cabin, "You have the honour, gentlemen," said he, "to belong to the most brave and fortunate nation in the universe."

A person, who kept a journal of occurrences from the period of Napoleon coming on board, to his arrival in England, furnishes the following observations:

"It has always been the habit with Napoleon, to rise very early in the morning—Six o'clock is his usual hour. He takes coffee immediately upon rising; then reads, and at ten generally breakfasts. His reading is history, mathematics, and the military art; he is himself one of the most eloquent and energetic speakers and writers; and employs even in his conversation words of the most lively imagery.

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His treatment by the naval officers.

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He reads likewise, as I understand, with great taste and judgment, but is grievously annoyed at any verbiage; his frequent expression is what is equivalent to our term—To the point, good friend. Every thing about him, in short, speaks the extraordinary character; every thing about him excites the wish expressed by the French king—that his virtues were equal to his talents.

“ He appeared on deck at ten o'clock on the 16th, and accompanied Captain Maitland to breakfast with Admiral Hotham on board the *Superb*.—The admiral conceived himself as receiving him in his own house, and manned the yards, &c. Captain Maitland had not felt with the same justice till the example had been set him, but is one of those minds which knows what becomes it when it sees it. He had the yards similarly manned to receive him on his return. Is it not the interest of brave men to honour each other? Why should every thing be granted to rank, and nothing to those qualities which in other ages have made princes? This is not the feeling which belongs to English gentlemen.

“ At breakfast on the 17th, the conversation was Egypt—“ I should have been Emperor of the East,” said he, “ had it not been for you English; but you are sure to be found wherever there is water to float you.” He had all the officers to dine with him in turn. Every one acknowledged him to be the most complete gentleman they had ever seen; and he gained so much even with the sailors, that their common salutation in passing him was,—“ Glad to see



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Journal of transactions on board the Bellerophon.

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your honour; hope your honour's well." He was frequently on deck, and endeavoured, as would appear, to occupy his mind with asking questions, as to the management of the ship. He expressed an anxious wish to arrive in England, and appeared to anticipate an honourable reception."

The following account is extracted from a well-written pamphlet, in the form of a Journal, published by a person who was about his person while on board the Bellerophon.

*Monday, July 24th.*—Early this morning we were close in with the land running into Torbay. Between 5 and 6, A. M. Bonaparte made his appearance on deck, and continued there until we anchored. He appeared delighted with the prospect, and his approach to England. Looking through his glass, he frequently exclaimed in French, "What a beautiful country! As we rounded the Berry head, he took notice that the barracks were deserted. At eight, A. M. we anchored, and were immediately surrounded with boats. Towards noon several thousand people were collected in hopes of getting a glimpse of our curiosity. He occasionally showed himself through the stern windows; and about three o'clock came upon deck, viewing the crowd through his glass. He seemed struck with the beauty of the women, repeatedly crying out, "What charming girls! what beautiful women!" and bowed to them.

The conjectures contained in the several newspapers which now reached us, of the probability of his being sent to St. Helena, cast a sudden gloom



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Journal of transactions on board the Bellerophon.

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over the whole party. Madame Bertrand appeared greatly hurt, and appealed to me against the opinions delivered, and the abusive expressions vented in them. I answered, that the sending of Napoleon to St. Helena, could as yet be merely a surmise of the editors; and that, as to any abuse that the papers might contain, I was afraid they must prepare themselves to support a considerable portion of it. She said that the paragraphs in question had been read to Bonaparte, who solemnly declared he never would go there.

General Gourgaud returned to us from the Slaney, not having been permitted to land.

*Tuesday, July 25th.*—Soon after daylight, the Bellerophon was surrounded by boats, crammed with visitors of every description. Napoleon occasionally bowed to them from the stern windows. The newspapers again teemed with abuse, and spoke confidently of his being sent to St. Helena. All were dismayed and disconcerted. The Duke of Rovigo avowed most decidedly his determination to die rather than submit to be sent there. In the afternoon Bonaparte showed himself to the swarming spectators, frequently bowing: this was returned by those in the nearest boats. He appeared pleased with their eagerness to see him, repeating, as did his officers, “How very curious these English are!” I was indeed surprised at not hearing a disrespectful or abusive word escape from any one; on the contrary, the spectators generally

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Journal of transactions on board the *Bellerophon*.

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took off their hats when he bowed. I have reason to believe that he himself expected, and most justly, a very different reception. He was therefore induced to gratify their curiosity to the utmost, remaining fully exposed to view for nearly an hour.

*Wednesday, July 26th.*—At three, A. M. we received orders to proceed to Plymouth; we weighed immediately, in company with the *Myrmidon* and *Slaney*. This movement greatly alarmed the whole party. Many inquiries were made as to the probable motive of this removal, and a conference was held by Bonaparte's staff, the result of which I learned was, an expression of their unanimous opinion, that the British government certainly intended to prevent his residence in this country. On anchoring in Plymouth Sound, two frigates, the *Eurotus* and *Liffey*, were immediately stationed one on each side of us, and several guard boats commenced rowing round the ship. These proceedings did not long escape the notice of Bonaparte, who requested to know the reason of such precautions. After dinner he made his appearance, standing for some time on the gangway. Several boats had collected round us, to whom he bowed, reconnoitring them as usual, through his glass. He looked pale and dejected, and said but little. As it grew dark, the guard boats, being unable to prevent the boats which still lingered round the ship from breaking through the limits assigned them, made frequent discharges of musketry. The sound

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of these greatly discomposed him; and he sent Bertrand to Captain Maitland, requesting that he would, if possible, prevent a repetition.

Conversing with some of his officers, they launched forth in praise of *le grand Empereur*, as the patron of art and science; boasting that not only the treasures of the Louvre, but every town of the empire, would exhibit to the admiration of the latest posterity, proofs of his magnificence, his taste, and zeal for improvement. An English sailor's blunt observations (as to the mode of acquiring the greater part of these monuments of their master's fame) seemed to astonish them.

*Thursday, July 27th.*—Napoleon remained on deck this day longer than usual. He came out after breakfast, and continued upwards of an hour. I am told he was much gratified with the contents of a letter received by Captain Maitland from Lord Keith; in which his lordship requested Captain Maitland to return him thanks for the kindness and attention he had shown his nephew, who was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Waterloo.

I have before mentioned that Bonaparte generally took coffee between six and seven in the morning; his other meals were two, breakfast at eleven, for which there were usually provided two hot joints, besides made dishes, &c.; dinner at six. His appetite was generally good; in eating he sometimes makes use of his left hand in lieu of a fork. During the day he takes but little exercise, and usually

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Journal of transactions on board the Bellerophon.

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sleeps between breakfast and dinner. Madame Bertrand informed me that he had of late become very inactive, and when last at Paris, generally slept a great part of the day. Not less than ten thousand people were collected this afternoon round the Bellerophon. Napoleon showed himself to them before and after dinner; frequently bowing to General Browne, the governor, and those in the nearest boats. It was evidently his endeavour to impress (if possible) the spectators with an opinion of his affability and condescension.

*Friday, July 28th.*—About eleven, A. M. Lord Keith came on board. He was introduced to Napoleon, whom (as I learned) he now personally thanked for his attention towards his nephew.—Bonaparte was, I understand, very pressing in his inquiries relative to his own probable fate, and avowed his intention of never being conveyed to St. Helena.

He was always very anxious for the arrival of the newspapers, which he eagerly read with the assistance of Bertrand and Las Cases. The news, in those received to-day, was by no means agreeable to him; and though we may reasonably suppose, he did not believe the many ridiculous surmises they contained, yet he generally appeared affected and agitated after the perusal. The *Courier*, perhaps, was the most violent against him, yet he always made a point of asking first for it.

This day several transports passed very near the Bellerophon, bringing over prisoners taken in the



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battle of Waterloo, many of whom were wounded. Several of these poor fellows with their bandages, &c. were on deck. I am unable to speak as to the effect this sight (if he was a witness of it) may have had upon Bonaparte, as he was at the time in his cabin. His officers beheld them pass from the poop; the ideas, with which it must have been associated, could not but render it an affecting scene; and, to do them justice, they appeared to feel it.

Bonaparte appeared on deck for about half an hour before and after dinner. Being completely surrounded by boats, he stood alternately on each side of the ship, bowing and smiling to the spectators. In the evening several of his other officers came on board from the different ships in which they were distributed. He appeared to converse freely with them all. One of them addressing me, said, "It is thus the Emperor always acts, whether he be speaking to a king or a peasant: this it is which makes him so beloved."

I inquired of Madame Bertrand why Napoleon had been so hasty in quitting Elba? She answered, that "some deputies had been sent to him from France, inviting him instantly to return; it being known that immediately on the dissolution of the congress at Vienna, he was to be sent to St. Helena; it was this information which induced him to make the attempt sooner than he otherwise intended, and before his plans were sufficiently matured."

*Sunday, July 29th.*—It rained during the greatest part of this day, and no boats having collected,

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Journal of transactions on board the Bellerophon.

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Bonaparte was deprived of the opportunity of showing himself. He therefore kept close, not vouchsafing his shipmates a peep at him.

For the first time he dined off roast beef, and paid a just tribute to John Bull's good taste, by eating heartily of it. He was, indeed, so much pleased with his new acquaintance, that it found almost a daily welcome at his table, during the remainder of his stay on board.

As Napoleon seldom took any thing after dinner, and sat alone in his cabin, all his officers, with the two ladies, generally gave us their company in an evening. Conversing respecting the battle of Waterloo, Marshal Bertrand observed, that "had not the Emperor made those repeated charges towards sunset, he would have maintained his ground, and the battle at least have been drawn." Speaking of the different great naval actions of the late war, our politeness and forbearance were put to a severe test; the French gentry readily inventing an excuse for the result of every battle, attributed all our victories to accident or good fortune.—Why did they not force their passage from Rochefort, according to their friendly intimation?—Fortune might, perhaps, for once have *accidentally* favoured them, or at least have smiled upon their resolution.

*Sunday, July 30th.*—At the usual time, about half-past 5, P. M. (an immense concourse of people being collected round the ship,) Napoleon made his appearance, and, after walking a short time, repaired to the gang-way. For the first time since he had

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been on board, he was not shaved. This surprised us, as we had been accustomed to remark his great and peculiar personal neatness. We could only ascribe the change to his anxiety respecting his fate. He again expressed his admiration at the great beauty of the women, viewing them through his glass, and occasionally taking off his hat. Upon his quitting the gang-way, (after remaining there about twenty minutes,) many of the spectators cheered. Being close to him, I immediately fixed my eyes upon him, and marked the workings of his countenance. I plainly perceived, that he was mortified and displeased, and not a little agitated; attributing the shout, and I believe justly, to the exultation which they felt at having him in our possession. After he had retired, we were told he was taken ill. During the night he sent out to request that no noise might be made over his head. The newspapers were again very violent, and spoke confidently of his conveyance to St. Helena. They stated likewise that Bertrand, Savary, and L'Allemand, were proscribed by Louis XVIII. The two latter appeared much affected by the news, and made, I believe, frequent inquiries of Captain Maitland as to the probability of their surrender by the British government. On Bertrand it seemed to make but little impression. He is most strongly attached to Bonaparte, and if he felt any thing the feeling arose from the idea of not being permitted to accompany him to his final destination.

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Bonaparte's final destination announced.

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Sir Henry Bunbury, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Bathurst, charged with the communication of the determination of government to Bonaparte, were conveyed on board the *Bellerophon* by Lord Keith's yacht. Sir Henry was introduced to the ex-emperor, and, after mutual salutations, he read to him the resolution of the cabinet, by which he was informed of his intended transportation to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received this intimation without any mark of surprise, as he said he had been apprized of the determination; but he protested against it in the most emphatic manner; and, in a speech of three quarters of an hour, delivered with great coolness, self-possession, and ability, reasoned against the outrageous proceeding. He recapitulated the circumstances under which he had been forced, he said, by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe, to quit the island of Elba—that he had exerted himself to prevent the renewal of hostilities—but that when they became unavoidable, and that the fortune of war had decided against him, he yielded to the voice of his enemies; and as they had declared in the face of the world, that it was against him only that they had taken up arms, he abdicated the imperial crown of France, in the full confidence that the allies would be faithful to their solemn declaration, and leave his country to the settlement of their own affairs; then, unarmed, and with the view



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He protests against his transportation.

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of seeking an asylum as a private individual in England, he had first sought to be received under the king's allegiance, and under the protection of our laws, and had, finally, voluntarily put himself into the British power. In this predicament he felt himself entitled to protest against the measure now announced to him; and, in a long argument, in which he showed himself to be well versed in our laws, he reasoned against the act.

Sir H. Bunbury and Mr. Bathurst say, that his manner was temperate, his language eloquent, and that he conducted himself throughout in the most prepossessing way. The account they give of his persuasive manner is highly interesting. Sir Henry answered to his discourse, that he had no commission but to make known to him the resolution of his majesty's ministers—but said, that he should faithfully report the reasons that he had stated against the proceeding.

Before the Northumberland sailed, a yacht or large boat, with several gentlemen of the pay-office, had arrived to pay the ship, who, availing themselves of the opportunity presented by the folding-doors of the cabin being open, beheld, to their surprise, Bonaparte playing at *vingt un* with his companions as cheerfully as if nothing had happened to him. When Sir G. Cockburn saw Bonaparte for the first time, he simply pulled off his hat, in the same manner as he would have done to another general, and said, "How do you do, General Bonaparte?" which was returned by him

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Departure for St. Helena.

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in a manner equally laconic, but with his head uncovered. Every thing was so well conducted in this removal, that the greatest order prevailed, and so little was it known at Torbay, off which place it occurred, that very few boats were present to witness it.

Liberty having been afforded to Bonaparte and his companions to procure from England any articles of luxury they might desire, they sent frequently ashore, and having purchased a billiard table, wines of the most costly description, an immense quantity of playing cards, chess-men, &c. and the best books procurable in the English language (the ex-emperor having suddenly grown exceedingly fond of that language!) Bonaparte solicited Mr. O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, to attend him in the same capacity, which Lord Keith consented to, and an exchange between the *Bellerophon* and the *Northumberland* was in consequence speedily effected. Bonaparte endeavoured to make him forget his duty, even at the commencement, by offering a salary of £500 per annum; but this gentleman rejected the overture, observing, that the pay of his king was sufficient for him.

The *Northumberland* sailed from Portsmouth a few days afterwards, and on nearing Torbay perceived two line of battle ships approaching her, which proved to be the *Bellerophon*, with Bonaparte on board, and the *Tonnant* with Lord Keith. In a few hours the *Northumberland* hailed them, and asked after Bonaparte, who, she was informed

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Instructions relative to the treatment of Bonaparte.

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had not come out of his cabin for some days. The ships came to anchor off Torbay.

General Bertrand went first on board the *Tonnant*, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir G. Cockburn. He is a man of about fifty years of age, and extremely well behaved. At dinner, Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Bonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the *Northumberland*.\* Bertrand expressed

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\* The following memorial from the British government to Admiral Cockburn, contains instructions relative to the manner in which Napoleon should be treated.

“When General Bonaparte leaves the *Bellerophon* to go on board the *Northumberland*, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Bonaparte may have brought with him.

“The Admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions, which the general may have brought with him, to be taken on board the *Northumberland*. Among the baggage, his table service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into money than for real use.

“His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects (consequently bills of exchange also,) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The admiral will declare to the general that the British government by no means intend to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of its effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight.

“The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by Bonaparte; the inventory of the effects to be retained,

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Instructions relative to the treatment of Bonaparte.

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his opinion strongly against the measures of sending the emperor (as he and all the suite constantly styled him,) to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation was to live quietly in England, under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and

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shall be signed by this person, as well as by the rear-admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up this inventory.

“ The interest, or the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable,) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements to be left to him.

“ For this reason, he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the admiral or the governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his majesty's treasury.

“ In case of death he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

“ As an attempt might be made to make part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified, that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

“ The disposal of the troops left to guard him must be left to the governor.

“ The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the admiral.

“ The general must constantly be attended by an officer appointed by the admiral, or, if the case occurs, by the governor.— If the general is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, an orderly man at least must accompany the officer.



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Instructions relative to the treatment of Bonaparte.

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Sir George Cockburn did not enter into any discussion on the subject. After dinner Lord Keith and Sir G. Cockburn, accompanied by Bertrand, went in the Admiral's yacht towards the *Bellerophon*.— Previous to their arrival, Bonaparte's arms and pis-

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“ When ships arrive, and as long as they are in sight, the general remains confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed.— During this time, all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject during this time to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times it is left to the judgment of the admiral or governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them. It must be signified to the general, that if he makes any attempt to fly, he will then be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the general's flight, they shall be separated from him, and put under close confinement.

“ All letters addressed to the general, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the admiral or governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the general or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

“ No letter that does not come to St. Helena, through the secretary of state, must be communicated to the general or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. And their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under cover of the secretary of state.

“ It will be clearly expressed to the general, that the governor and admiral have precise orders to inform his majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which the general may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution. But the paper on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it,

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Instructions relative to the treatment of Bonaparte.

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tols were taken from him—not without considerable altercation and objection on the part of the French officers.

Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Bonaparte took leave of them individually. A colonel Pistowki, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him. He had received 17 wounds in the service of Bonaparte, and said he would serve

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and when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

“Till the arrival of the new governor, the admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Bonaparte; and his majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present governor to concur with the admiral for that purpose. The admiral has full power to retain the general on board his ship, or to convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected. When the admiral arrives at St. Helena, the governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East Indies, such officers or other persons in the military corps of St. Helena, as the admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or disposition, shall think it advisable to dismiss the military service in St. Helena.

“If there are strangers in the island whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of General Bonaparte, he must take measures to remove them. The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the admiral. He fixes the place which the boats may visit, and the

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Instructions relative to the treatment of Bonaparte.

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in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish lancers were peremptory, and he was removed to the *Eurotas*. Savary and Lallemand, however, were not among those sent on board the frigate—they were left in the *Bellerophon*.

When Lord Keith and Sir Geo. Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, on Sunday afternoon, Bonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat, with red facings, two epaulettes, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the legion of honour, and *chapeau bras*, with the three-coloured cockade. His face is remarkably plump, and his head rather bald on the top. After the usual salutations, Lord Keith, addressing himself to Bonaparte, acquainted him with his intended

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governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the admiral shall consider this precaution as necessary.

“ The admiral will adopt the most vigorous means to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow.

“ Orders shall be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel going in future to St. Helena.

“ If the general should be seized with serious illness, the admiral and the governor will each name a physician, who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the general in common with his own physician; they will give them strict orders to give in, every day, a report on the state of his health. In case of his death, the admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.”

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Bonaparte's protest.

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transfer from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. Bonaparte immediately protested with great vehemence against this act of the British government\*—he did not expect it—he did not conceive that any objection could be made to his residing in England quietly, for the remainder of his life.—No answer was returned by either Lord Keith or Sir G. Cockburn. A British officer who stood near, observed to him, that if he had not been sent to *St. Helena*, he would have been delivered up to the Emperor of Russia.

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\* *Protest of Napoleon against his removal to St. Helena.*

“On board the *Bellerophon*, at sea, August 4th, 1815.

“I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person and of my liberty. I came freely on board the *Bellerophon*: I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. Once seated on board the *Bellerophon*, I was upon the hearth of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag. If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their integrity, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will be lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal, therefore, to history—it will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years on the people of England, came voluntarily in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.

NAPOLEON.”



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His conversation with Admiral Cockburn.

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Bonaparte—" *Dieu me garde des Russes!*" (God keep me from the Russians.) In making this reply, he looked at General Bertrand, and shrugged up his shoulders.

Sir G. Cockburn—" At what hour to-morrow morning shall I come, general, and receive you on board the Northumberland ?"

Bonaparte, with some surprise at being styled mere general, replied—" At ten o'clock."

Bertrand, Madame Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Count and Countess Montholon, were standing near Bonaparte. Sir G. Cockburn asked him if he wanted any thing before they put to sea? Bertrand replied, fifty packs of cards, a backgammon and domino table; and Madame Bertrand desired to have some articles of furniture, which, it was said, should be furnished forthwith.

An officer who stood near him, said,—“ You would have been taken, if you had remained at Rochefort another hour, and sent off to Paris.” Bonaparte turned his eye upon the speaker—but did not speak a word. He next addressed Sir G. Cockburn, and asked several questions about St. Helena. “ Is there any hunting or shooting there? where am I to reside ?” He then abruptly changed the subject, and burst into more invectives against the government, to which no answer was returned. He then expressed some indignation at being styled general, saying, “ You have sent ambassadors to me as a sovereign potentate—you have acknowledged me as first consul.”—He took a great deal

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Examination of Bonaparte's baggage.

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of snuff whilst speaking. After reminding him that the Northumberland's barge would come for him at ten on Monday morning, Lord Keith and Sir G. Cockburn retired.

Early on Monday morning, Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, to superintend the inspection of Bonaparte's baggage. It consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They found but 4000 gold Napoleons, and these were sealed up and detained. They were all sent on board the *Northumberland* about eleven o'clock. At half-past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, went on board the *Bellerophon* to receive Bonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Bonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland, and the officers of the *Bellerophon*. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. Lord Keith received in the barge the following personages: Bonaparte, General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children; Count and Countess Montholon, and child; Count Las Cassas,\* General Gorgaud; nine men and three women servants. Bonaparte was this day dressed in a cocked hat much worn, with a tri-coloured cockade; his coat was buttoned close round him—a plain green one

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\* This person has long been resident in England, and published a work entitled "Le Sage's Historical Atlas."

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Bonaparte received on board the Northumberland.

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with a red collar: he had three orders—two crosses, and a large silver star, with the inscription, “*Honneur et Patrie*;” white breeches, silk stockings, and gold buckles.

About twelve o'clock the Tonnant's barge reached the Northumberland. Bertrand stepped first upon deck, Bonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a general, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburn, “*Je suis a vos ordres.*” He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who were near the admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an officer he said, “*Dans quel corps servez vous?*” (In what corps do you serve?)—The officer replied, “In the artillery.” Bonaparte immediately rejoined, “*Je sors de ce service moi meme.*” (I was originally in that service myself.) After taking leave of the officers who had accompanied him from the Bellerophon, and embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, he went into the after-cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Honourable Mr. Lyttleton, &c.

Bertrand asked, what we should have done had we taken Bonaparte at sea?—As we were doing now, was the reply.

Lord Lowther and the Honourable Mr. Lyttleton

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Interesting conversation with Bonaparte.

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now entered into very earnest conversation with him, which continued for two hours. As he was very communicative, and seemed desirous of a very free conversation with these two young gentlemen, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and entered into a review of much of his conduct. We understand that they asked him how he came to commit the impolicy of attacking Spain, the motives for the Berlin and Milan decrees, the war against Russia, the refusal of the terms of peace offered him before the first capture of Paris, &c. To all these questions, we hear, he gave full answers, not avoiding, but rather encouraging the discussion.

His cabin in the Northumberland was fitted up with great elegance. His bed was peculiarly handsome, and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet was of silver. Among other articles upon it was a magnificent snuff-box, upon which was embossed in gold, an eagle with a crown flying from Elba to the coast of France—the eagle just seeing the coast of France, and the respective distances, are admirably executed.

The following are a few passages of the conversation which Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton had with Bonaparte, when he was transhipped from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland.

Bonaparte, whilst remonstrating against his detention, said, “ You do not know my character. You ought to have placed confidence in my word of honour.”



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Retrospect of his political schemes.

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One of the gentlemen said, " Shall I speak the plain truth to you ?

Bonaparte.—" Speak it."

——. " I must then tell you, that since your invasion of Spain, no Englishman could put trust even in your most solemn engagements."

B. " I was called to Spain by Charles IV. to assist him against his son."

——. " No—according to my opinion, to place king Joseph on the throne."

B. " I had a grand political system. It was necessary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power on the sea ; and, besides, that was only what had been done by the Bourbons," or words to that effect.

——. " It must be confessed, however, general, that France under your sceptre was much more to be feared than during the latter years of Louis XIV's reign. She was also aggrandized, &c.

B. " England on her part had become more powerful." Here he referred to our colonies, and particularly to our acquisitions in India.

——. " Many well-informed men are of opinion that England loses more than she gains by the possession of that overgrown and remote empire."

B. " I wished to revive Spain ; to do much of that which the Cortes afterwards attempted to do."

He was then recalled to the main point, and reminded of the character of the transaction by which he obtained possession of the Spanish crown, to which he made no answer, but took a new line of argument on the subject of his detention, and

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His opinion of the late Mr. Fox.

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after much discussion, concluded by saying, "Well, I have been deceived in relying upon your generosity. Replace me in the position from which you took me," (or words to that effect.)

Speaking of his invasion of France, he said with great vehemence, "I was then a sovereign. I had a right to make war. The King of France had not kept his promises."

He afterwards said exultingly, and laughing and shaking his head, "I made war on the king of France with 600 men."

He said, that in confining him as we did, we were "acting like a little aristocratic power, and not like a free people."

Of Mr. Fox he said, he knew him, and had seen him at the Thuilleries—"He had not your prejudices."

——. "Mr. Fox, general, was a zealous patriot with regard to his own country, and besides a citizen of the world."

B. "He sincerely wished for peace, and I wished for it also. His death prevented the conclusion of peace. The others were not sincere."

At one time he observed, "I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England;" and then, as if correcting himself for having inadvertently said more than was prudent—"that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just—at least less unjust."

He was asked his opinion of the British infantry.

B. "Long wars make good soldiers—the cavalry

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Bonaparte's invectives against the conduct of the allies.

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of both nations," he said, " was excellent—our artillery had derived much improvement from the French."

Of the Duke of Wellington he seemed at this time to avoid giving any opinion.

To a question about Louis XVIII.

B. " He is a good sort of man, too fond of the table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The Dutchess of Angouleme is the only *man* in the family. The French must have such a man as myself."

He broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the allies; called it perfidious, treacherous.

Touching upon St. Helena, he seemed not only indignant, but surprised at being sent there.

B. " I would have given my word of honour to have remained quiet, and to have held no political correspondence in England. I would have pledged myself not to quit the place assigned me, but to live as a simple individual."

——. " That seems to be next to impossible; for though you have had great reverses, you could never so far forget what you had been as to conceive yourself to be, or conduct yourself as a simple individual."

B. " But why not let me remain in England upon my parole of honour?"

——. " You forget that some hundreds of French officers violated their parole of honour, and that not only you did not express any indignation against

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Acknowledges his scheme for the invasion of England.

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them, but received them with particular distinction —Lefebvre Desnouettes for instance!”

Bonaparte made no remark upon this.

Of the Prince Regent he spoke in the highest terms, adding, that he was the only sovereign in Europe who had been consistent, constant, and vigorous; that it was he who had been the real cause of defeating all his designs, and destroying his power.

He spoke of the invasion of England as his first determination, and said that he intended to have landed as near Chatham as possible, and to have dashed at once for London. He admitted the great probability of his not succeeding, and that he might have been killed in the attempt. That this scheme was not put into effect, he says, was owing to Admiral Villeneuve not obeying the orders he received. He was particularly inquisitive as to the climate of England, and said that the cause of so many suicides was the humidness of the atmosphere.

The anxiety of the English to see him when on board the *Bellerophon*, flattered his vanity in the extreme, and he would frequently stand at the gangway purposely to afford the gaping and wondering multitude an opportunity of beholding his person. At this time he had invariably a spy-glass in his hand, which he frequently used in observing the spectators.

He appeared greatly pleased with the beauty of our fair country-women, and was always wishing to know their names, families, and any circumstance



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His remarks on the battle of Waterloo.

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that could be communicated to him concerning them.

Bonaparte gave great credit to our infantry and our artillery. He said, "the British infantry is now what the French was ten years back, and that the cavalry is greatly inferior to the infantry in every thing but appearance." He found great fault with the construction of the bits, which, he says, "are so bad that the men cannot manage their horses." Bertrand and the others assented to the truth of this observation.

One day Bonaparte was speaking of the Duke of Wellington, and observed, "he did not expect that he would have given him battle, but that he would have retreated, and waited for the Russians and other reinforcements, in which case he says, he must have been finally beaten; but that he was extremely happy to find Lord Wellington did not decline the combat," adding, "that he made quite certain of obtaining the victory." He also said, that, "he knew of the advance of the Prussians, but that he did not regard it of much consequence; and that he was betrayed by some of his generals." He further said, "that the universal consternation among his troops taking place at a time of *darkness*, he was not able to rally the fugitives *by showing his person to them, which he is convinced would have effectually restored order had it been day-light; but that in consequence of its being dark, he was borne away by the crowd, and obliged to FLY HIMSELF.*"

On being asked why he had not given himself up

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Adverts to the invasion of Spain.

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to Austria? he replied, "What, give myself up to a nation without laws, honour, or faith! No: the moment I had got there, I should have been put into a dungeon, and never heard of more. In giving myself up to the English, I have given myself up to a nation with honourable and just laws, which afford protection to every person."

One day he observed, he "ought to have *died* the day he entered Moscow, as ever since he had experienced a continual series of disasters." He further observed, he "would have made peace at Dresden, and also afterwards, if it had not been for the advice of the Duke of Bassano, who persuaded him against it."

The invasion of Spain, Bonaparte says, he undertook at the special desire of Talleyrand, who was continually urging him to that measure, invariably pointing out the absolute necessity of its being undertaken, and, if possible, accomplished at all hazards.

It is astonishing the detestation in which Fouché was held by Bonaparte and all his followers, who never mentioned his name but with the greatest contempt; and they said, "it was entirely owing to this creature that Bonaparte abdicated in favour of his son; and that he was continually carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the allies."

The respect paid to Bonaparte by his suite was very great; as an instance, we shall mention that he was one day playing at chess with Montholon, who is by far the best player of the two. Bona-

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The Northumberland sets sail.

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parte had evidently the worst of the game, when Montholon made purposely an improper movement, which was speedily observed by the former, and he ultimately was the victor. Montholon praised the superior skill of his master (as he termed him) and declared himself “not competent to encounter such an excellent player again;” at which Bonaparte was highly pleased. At this game, or vingt-un, Bonaparte generally passed his time; but was much hurt when the admiral insisted that neither of these games, nor any other, should be played on Sundays.

He was very inquisitive as to the climate, &c. of St. Helena, and declared that he should be more comfortable there than in Austria. Temperance, he said, was the only means of preserving health; and added, that he never was ill but twice in his life, and on one of those occasions only applied a blister. Montholon’s wife had been unwell, and he inquired of the surgeon how she was. He said, rather better, but that he thought the fear of the tropical climates preyed on her mind. Bonaparte replied, nearly in the words of Shakespeare, “Doctor, thou canst not administer to a mind diseased.” The force with which this remark was made, was observed by every one near, and apparently related to his own feelings.

At length, every preparation being completed, and the Northumberland joined by the vessels that were to accompany her, Bonaparte set sail for his final destination on the 9th of August; but not

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St. Helena appears in sight.

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before he had penned a farewell address to the French people.

It is said of the ex-emperor, that during the whole of his voyage, he appeared perfectly calm, and resigned to his fate, though he occasionally complained of the tediousness of the passage, often amusing himself in playing at cards with the companions of his misfortunes. He continued, however, to maintain his dignity with those about him; and they never approached him covered, nor wore their hats in his presence.

At dinner he had a plate of each dish on the table put before him by his servant; some he partook of, and others were removed without eating any. The same ceremony was observed in handing about wine; a glass of each sort on a salver was occasionally presented, and, if inclined, he drank one; if not, the salver was removed without his speaking. He never asked how he was to be disposed of, and was perfectly passive in every transaction. Sometimes, however, he submitted to ask for some indulgence for his followers, who appeared less capable than himself of enduring the privations of their new situation.

After a slow, but boisterous passage of ten weeks, the lofty, black, and romantic rock of St. Helena appeared. Napoleon viewed its dreary aspect through his glass, with great attention; and its appearance at a distance is truly horrific; but his countenance remained unchanged, and no remark escaped his lips. Madame Bertrand did not view



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Bonaparte's arrival at St. Helena.

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this singular place of exile with equal composure, being much agitated on beholding the precipitous and naked rocks, and apparently regretting the absence of those gay and splendid circles of polished society she had left in Europe.

The necessary arrangements being made, Bonaparte was landed on the second evening after the arrival of the Northumberland. As his intended residence was not ready for his reception, he was conveyed to the house of a private gentleman, at some distance from the town. Here he appeared perfectly at his ease, and amused himself with the two daughters of his host, who are represented as remarkably fine, intelligent, and playful girls. He frequently took exercise in the garden, and spent the remainder of his time in reading, conversation, or *vingt-un*. He received those English gentlemen that were presented to him with great affability; but seemed rather hurt at the severity of Sir George Cockburn's arrangements.

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Description of St. Helena.

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*Description of St. Helena.*

On approaching St. Helena from the S. E. it appears like a lofty irregular ridge of rocks; the northern extremity of which is very abrupt, and the southern more shelving: on drawing near the land, this island appears girt with a chain of inaccessible precipices, behind which, craggy and barren mountains shoot up to a great height, on whose summits are placed telegraphs, to give notice when ships are approaching the island.

Some of the rocks that form this chain are split down to their base, disclosing chasms which are hideous to behold; while others assume the most fantastic shapes, resembling castles, towers, &c. We now steered for a high promontory, called *Barn's Point*, which we passed at the distance of a cable's length. It is the most stupendous cliff I ever beheld, being nearly perpendicular, and *fifteen or sixteen hundred feet* high. From hence we steered close along shore for *Sugar-Loaf Hill* and *Point*; on the peak of the former there is a telegraph, and on a jutting crag of the latter, about 80 or 90 feet above the level of the sea, there is a small battery of three or four guns, to compel vessels to *heave-to* and "*send their boats on shore.*" The latter words are painted in large letters, on a black board, in a conspicuous part of the battery, and written in three different languages.

We passed close to *Rupert's Valley*, and several ranges of batteries formed among the precipices. On rounding *Rupert's Hill*, *James-Town* and *Valley* presented themselves, a-breast of which we anchored, at about a quarter of a mile from the beach.

*James's Valley* is formed by two craggy ridges, called *Rupert's* and *Ladder Hill*, which gradually receding from each other, as they approach the sea, at length terminate at its edge, in two stupendous and almost perpendicular cliffs; leaving an intermediate triangular space, about a mile and a half in length, and 250 yards broad at its base.

This base is a fortified line, extending from cliff to cliff, and mounting thirty pieces of heavy cannon, nearly level with the

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Description of St. Helena.

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water's edge. Immediately behind this line, the Government House and the Church are situated; from whence the town extends up the valley, which gradually decreasing in breadth, leaves at last only room for a single house.

In this small space, however, there are several little gardens, groves, and shady walks, that add to the neat appearance of the town, the houses of which are handsomely built in the English style, generally two stories high, and well white-washed. Upon the whole, it greatly resembles a pretty little country town in England, the inhabitants, language, and manners being all English.

Looking up from the streets towards Rupert's and Ladder Hill, the scene is awfully sublime! The stranger shudders to behold enormous masses of rock, impending on each side of the valley from a prodigious height, and which, from their wild fractured appearance, seem ready every instant to hurl destruction on the town below! yet these objects are eyed by the inhabitants with the most perfect indifference.

*St. Helena Bay*, being formed by two projecting promontories, and situated on the lee-side of the island, is, of course, completely sheltered from the S. E. trade winds by the mountains, and protected from the long swell of the southern ocean, by the island itself. It thus affords a safe and commodious anchorage for our ships, which may lie close to the rocks, in water as smooth as glass.

*Excursion through the Island.*—As our stay at this place was limited to forty-eight hours, we had no time to lose; and accordingly, a party of us having procur'd horses, we started from James Town, at day-break of the 24th December, in order to make a tour through the island.

We commenced our journey by ascending Ladder Hill, a precipice, which, at first sight, seems designed by nature as a barrier that would for ever defy the human race to scale; yet human industry has, by incredible exertions in blowing up the rocks, formed a zig-zag path to its summit.

About midway we stopped to take a view of the town, which

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Description of St. Helena.

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even from this height, looks like one in *miniature*; the streets resembling those formed by the little houses which we see in toy-shops; the whole assuming such a *mimic* appearance, that a person would be almost tempted to think, he could cover a considerable part of the town with one of his hands. Looking upwards, what a contrast! Who, without emotions of terror, can behold such gigantic projections of rock hanging over him, in so loose and disjointed a state, that the excited imagination paints them in the very act of precipitating themselves headlong down the horrid steeps?

Accidents of this kind sometimes happen, by the wild goats climbing along the edges of the precipices, and loosening small pieces of rock, which rolling down, displace others still larger, till at length whole showers of them come tumbling down into the valley, to the no small terror of the inhabitants; on which account no person is allowed to keep tame goats on this side of the island, and a premium is given for shooting wild ones.

*Ladder-Hill.*—On Ladder-Hill are mounted twenty-two or twenty-four pieces of cannon; some ranged along the brow of the cliff that overhangs the town, and some along that which overlooks the road.

Six or seven of these are mounted on depressing carriages, so as to fire right down into the town or roads, thereby completely commanding those places; the rest are mounted on common carriages, and serve the purpose of a saluting battery. Over these precipices, few of us would venture to look.

From hence we proceeded for *High Knowl*, over a tract which may be termed sterility itself; every step we ascended presenting new views of rocks and mountains, congregated on each side in the wildest order, and without exhibiting an atom of vegetation! Such is the prospect when within a few paces of the summit of *High Knowl*, and which is finely contrasted with the glassy surface of an immense expanse of ocean, which the great height of the place enables the eye to survey.

*View from High Knowl.*—We now ascended to the tower on the top of the *Knowl*, which we no sooner reached, than all this



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Description of St. Helena.

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rude scenery instantly vanished like a magical delusion, leaving the eye to range over a series of beautiful little valleys, groves, and lawns, verdant as the spring, and affording luxuriant pasturage to the flocks and herds that strayed among them.

Throughout this prospect were interspersed small plantations, gardens, and handsome little country houses; the whole surrounded by a lofty irregular ridge of hills and precipices, that formed a grand outline and striking contrast to the picturesque scenes they enclosed.

Here our attention was chained for some time; at length we descended the south side of the Knowl, which is rather steep, and soon arrived at the governor's country residence, called Plantation House. It is situated on the side of a pleasant little valley, with small plantations and gardens adjoining, and commands a very fine prospect of the sea. Our road now took a winding direction, along the declivities of little hills, whose green sides sloping down to the principal valley on the left, formed a number of little glens and dells, from whose beauty one would be almost tempted to pronounce them the favourite haunts of fairies.

*View from Sandy Bay Ridge.*—After a pleasant ride of about an hour, we came to Sandy Bay Ridge, over which we were to pass in our way to the bay of the same name. When near its summit, we halted for a few minutes, in order to take a farewell look at the northern prospect, not expecting to see any thing like it on the island again. What then must have been our surprise, when on mounting the ridge, a scene burst upon our view, as much superior to the one we had so reluctantly left, as that one was to a dreary heath! But I shall not attempt to give a description of it. Had Dr. Johnson, when writing his “Prince of Abyssinia,” been seated on Sandy Bay Ridge, he might have described from nature a valley more beautifully romantic, than even his own fertile imagination has been able to form for young “Rasselas.”

Nature must certainly have been in one of her good-humoured and most whimsical creative moods when she formed this bay; and indeed St. Helena altogether, where she has strewed the sublime

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Description of St. Helena.

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and beautiful, with a hand liberal even to profusion, though in a very small space.

On this ridge we alighted, and permitted our horses to feed for some time on the rich pasture with which it is crowned, in order that we might survey at leisure, the romantic landscape which lay stretched before us, painted by the great hand of nature.

Although I will not attempt to give any general description of this place, yet I cannot help taking notice of some particular parts. Among the rude features of the southern side, one's attention is arrested by two huge rocks of fantastic shapes, which from this point of view seem to stand close to each other, and have got the names of *Lot and his Wife*.\* The former, which is by far the more curious of the two, shoots up to a giddy height from

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\* *Singular Anecdote of a Slave*.—While sitting on this ridge, enjoying the prospect, one of the islanders related, among other anecdotes, the following one respecting the rock which goes by the name of Lot.

A slave, belonging to one of the farmers, who had (or fancied he had) been maltreated by his master, seizing one day a small quantity of provisions, ran to this rock, and in his ardour for *freedom*, climbed with unparalleled efforts to its very summit.

Having been observed in his flight, a number of slaves were collected, and rewards offered to those who would go up and seize the fugitive: he very soon, however, routed these invaders of his newly acquired *independence*, by hurling down fragments of rock, which forced them to fly in all directions, and with the utmost precipitation, to a considerable distance. Here, though with the prospect of famine before him, he preferred his solitary aerial abode, with *liberty*, to all the allurements which society and food held out to him in the valley. As the base of the rock was of considerable extent, and as they were obliged to keep at a respectful distance even from this, it was found a very difficult matter to blockade him. Accordingly he contrived to steal down occasionally by night, and levy contributions on the neighbouring farm-yards, with whose local situation he was well acquainted, taking care always to repair before day-light, to his lofty citadel, where he might enjoy at leisure the fruit of his expeditions, without fear of being molested in his "*solitary reign*."

Such a predatory system, however, was attended with two many dangers to exist long; and accordingly he was one night detected in his rambles; the alarm was given, and before he could regain his favourite rock of liberty, poor *blacky* was caught, and condemned once more to the galling chain.

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 Description of St. Helena.
 

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a rugged foundation near the sea, in the form of a huge natural pyramid, or tower, of a most singular and stupendous appearance.

Whether this has stood here *ab origine*, or was produced during some violent convulsion of nature, I shall not presume to decide, though I am inclined to think the latter has been the case, as a great many of the rocks are complete masses of lava: and from the conical forms which the hills all over the island have assumed, we may safely pronounce them of volcanic origin.

*Sandy Bay Valley*.—We now descended to the valley by a steep winding path, and were amply repaid for our journey by the beauty of the prospect from this new point of view.

We now determined to “climb the mountain top,” and prosecute our tour up to Diana’s Peak, the ne plus ultra or highest part of St. Helena.

Remounting, therefore, we ascended Sandy Bay Ridge, and turning to the right proceeded in an easterly direction, until the steepness and ruggedness of the ascent, with the closeness of the underwood, obliged us to dismount. After an hour’s scrambling, climbing, and tearing through the bushes (during which some of the party gave it up entirely,) we arrived at the summit of the peak, which being nearly in the centre of the island, and 2700 feet above the level of the sea, commands a complete view of St. Helena, and a great extent of ocean, in every direction, bounded only by the far distant horizon.

Here the detached scenes and prospects, which we had been admiring severally, were now, with many others, brought into one *coup d’œil*, and certainly formed an interesting picture; every point of the compass presenting, as it were, a new landscape, distinguished by some striking feature in the outline, or beautiful little valley in front; the whole forming a most superb panorama, painted by a hand which defied all human imitation.

The light flying clouds, which would frequently come sailing along on the S. E. breeze, and involve us in a momentary gloom, considerably heightened the effect of this picturesque scenery, by snatching it, as it were, for a few minutes at a time, entirely from

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Description of St. Helena.

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our view ; when again, by their sudden dispersion, the whole variegated prospect would lie extended before us.

The air on this peak, and indeed on all the hills of the island, was as cool as it usually is in the month of April in England ; though it was now the middle of summer here, and the sun nearly vertical at mid-day.

We now descended by a rugged ridge to a telegraph station, called *Halley's Mount*, where we were informed the celebrated Dr. Halley had pitched his tent, many years ago, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk. From hence we went down another shattered ridge, on each side of which there was a deep ravine, that made us almost dizzy to look into. At length we came to *Side Path*, a narrow road, cut along the side of a steep defile, which led us at last to James's Valley, where we arrived at sunset, very much fatigued, yet highly gratified with our twelve hours' excursion.

The island of St. Helena was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1508, on the 21st of May, which is St. Helen's feast ; and hence the name of the island. The English formed a settlement on it in 1660 ; and a few years afterwards it was taken by the Dutch, from whom it was retaken by the English under captain Munden, in 1674, and has ever since remained in the hands of the East India Company.

It is about 1000 miles to the southward of the line, and nearly the same distance from the African continent. The coast describes an irregular indented line, which, from point to point, measures 28 miles in circumference ; its greatest length is about 10 miles, and breadth 6 or 7.

It is in most places fortified by nature ; and where not so, they have guns to point on every spot that is at all accessible. We were told that there were between 4 and 500 pieces of cannon mounted on the different batteries round the island ; and that they could turn out between 14 and 1500 regular troops, independent of militia, which might amount to 1000 more.

Between three or four miles from the little sort of village which is dignified with the title of James Town, after ascending a nar-



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row winding road, bordered with ravines and precipices, you reach a small plain of about a mile and a quarter in length, terminated by an abrupt cliff, overhanging, at a considerable elevation, the sea. About the middle of this plain stands Longwood, which serves the once mighty emperor either for a palace or state-prison, according as his imagination may picture the scene. The house, which is small, is surrounded at every outlet by sentries regularly relieved. Half a mile in advance of the house stands the lodge, where an officer's guard is stationed, suffering no individual to pass without a written order, signed by the admiral's own hand. The opposite front of the house is about three quarters of a mile from the cliff before noticed; on the one side is an impassable ravine, on the other an unscaleable mountain; the space within these limits is all that is assigned to the movements of the state prisoner. There is, besides, within the boundary, an encampment for 250 or 300 men; and on every commanding eminence, at every point which can serve to keep his movements under view, sentries are posted, who may be said to form the interior line of circumvallation. The before-mentioned road to James Town is the only outlet from this certainly not "happy valley;" but that road has sentries and picquets posted, in regular succession, all the way to the town. So much for the securities by land! Those by sea seem to be provided with still greater care, to render the escape of the prisoner physically impossible. No vessel can approach the island, in any direction, without being seen by some of the numerous signal posts which are established and communicate with each other all round the island. The moment a strange sail is seen, signals are made to the cruising vessels, of which there are two divisions that alternately relieve each other, in the uninteresting but ceaseless duty of hovering about this speck in the ocean. They proceed from the anchorage to a certain distance, and then move round in one direction or the other, according to the winds or other circumstances, until they have completely encircled the island. If a straggling vessel from India, or elsewhere, approaches, they instantly make sail towards her, carefully overhaul her, and if

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List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

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necessary, bring her up for final examination by the admiral. She is not, however, suffered to anchor, unless she be a king's ship or an Indiaman; and this latter class are under very strict regulations. Few of their officers are suffered to land, and even their captains are not permitted to visit the interior of the island.



*List of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in  
the Battle of Waterloo.*

ON THE 16th OF JUNE, 1815.—KILLED, 1st Guards—ensign James Lord Hay, aid-de-camp to general Maitland.

1st Guards, 2d Batt.—lieut. Thomas Brown (captain;) ensign Samuel S. P. Barrington.

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—lieut. Edward Grose (captain.)

1st Foot—captain William Buckley; lieutenants John Armstrong and J. E. O'Neill; ensigns J. G. Kennedy, Charles Graham, and A. Robertson.

32nd—captain Edward Whitty.

33d Foot—captain John Haigh; lieuts. John Boyce and Arthur Gore.

42nd Foot—lieut. col. Sir R. Macara, K. C. B.; lieut. Robert Gordon; ensign William Gerard.

44th Foot, 2d Batt.—lieut. Wm. Tomkins; ensign Peter Cooke.

69th Foot, 2nd Batt.—lieutenant Edmund William Whitwick.

79th Foot, 1st Batt.—adjutant J. Kynock.

92nd Foot—captain William Little; lieut. J. J. Chisholm; ensigns Able Becher and John M. R. Macpherson; first lieutenant William Lister.

WOUNDED, General Staff—captain H. G. Macleod, 35th Foot, deputy assistant-quarter-master-general; captain John Jessop (major,) 44th Foot, assistant-quarter-master-general, severely; captain Charles Smyth (major) 95th Foot, brigade-major, severely (since dead;) captain Lancton, acting aid-de-camp to Sir T. Picton, slightly; lieut. William Havelock, 32nd Foot, aid-de-camp to major-general Alten, slightly; lieutenant William de Goebau, severely (since dead.)

Royal Artillery, King's German Legion—lieut. Henry Hartman, severely.

1st Guards, 2nd Batt.—major Henry Askew (colonel) severely; lieut. James Simpson (capt.) severely; ensigns G. Fluyder and T. Elmsley Croft, severely,

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—major Hon. William Stewart (colonel,) severely; captain Hon. Horace G. Townsend (lieut. col.) severely; captain William Miller (lieut. col.) severely, (since dead;) lieutenants Robert Adair and T. Streatfield (captains,) severely; ensign William Barton, severely.

Royal Scots, 3d Batt.—captain L. Arquimbeau (major,) slightly; captain Hugh Massey (major,) slightly; Robert Dudgeon, severely; lieutenants Wm. J. Rea, J. N. Ingram, and Wm. Clarke, severely; lieuts. R. H. Scott and J. Symes, slightly; lieutenant James Mann, severely; lieutenants George Stewart and James Alstone, slightly; adjutant Allan Cameron, severely.

25th Foot—captains William Irving (major,) and John Bowles, severely; lieutenant William Irwin, severely; lieutenant John Coen, slightly.

30th Foot, 2nd Batt.—lieutenant colonel Alexander Hamilton, severely; lieutenant P. Lockwood, severely.

32nd Foot—captain William H. Toole, slightly; captain Jacques Boyce, severely (since dead;) capt. T. Cassan and J. Crowe, severely; captain C. Wallet, slightly; lieuts. H. W. Brookes, M. W. Brookes, M. W. Meighan,

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 List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.
 

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S. H. Lawrence, slightly ; lieuts. George Barr and John Boase, severely ; lieutenant Henry Butterworth, slightly ; lieuts. James Robinson, James Fitzgerald, Henry Quill, Edward Stephens, severely ; lieutenant Thos. Horan, slightly ; ensigns Henry Metcalfe and John Birtwhistle, slightly ; ensigns Charles Dallas and A. Stewart, severely ; adjutant David Davis, slightly.

23d Foot—major Edward Parkinson, slightly ; captain William McIntyre, slightly ; lieuts. James Markland, J. G. Ogle, and James Forlong, severely ; ensign John Alderson, severely (right arm amputated) ; ensign Jas. Howard, slightly.

42d Foot—major R. H. Dick (lieut. col.) severely ; captains A. Menzies, George Davison, Donald McDonald, Daniel McIntosh, and Robert Boyle, severely ; lieutenant Donald Chisholm, slightly ; lieutenant Duncan Stewart, severely ; lieuts. Donald McKenzie and Hugh A. Frazer, slightly ; lieuts. John Malcolm and A. Dunbar, severely ; ensign William Fraser, slightly ; adjutant James Young, slightly.

44th Foot, 2nd Batt.—lieut. col. J. M. Hamerton, slightly ; captains Adam Brugh, David Power, William Burney, and Mildway Fane, severely ; lieuts. Robert Russel, Robert Grier, and W. B. Strong, severely ; lieutenant Alexander Campbell, slightly ; lieutenant W. M. Hern, severely ; lieutenant James Burke, slightly ; ensigns James Christie, B. Whitney, J. C. Webster, and A. Wilson, severely.

69th Foot, 2nd Batt.—captain H. Linsey (major,) severely ; lieuts. Brook Pigott, John Stewart, and C. Busteed, severely.

73d Foot, 2nd Batt.—lieut. J. Acres, severely (since dead) ; captain J. Lloyd, severely ; ensign Thomas Deacon, severely ; ensign R. H. Heselridge, slightly.

79th Foot, 1st Batt.—lieut. col. Neil Douglas, severely ; majors A. Brown and D. Cameron (lieut. cols.) severely ; captains T. Mylne, W. Marshal, M. Fraser, and W. Bruce, severely ; captain John Sinclair, severely (since dead) ; captain Neil Campbell, slightly ; lieutenant D. McPhee, slightly ; lieuts. Thomas Brown, William Maddock, W. Leaper, James Fraser, and William A. Riach, severely ; ensign James Robertson, severely.

92nd Foot—lieut. col. John Cameron (col.) severely (since dead) ; major James Mitchell (lieut. col.) severely ; captains George W. Holmes, Dugald Campbell, and Wm. C. Grant, severely ; lieuts. Thomas Hobbs and Thomas McIntosh, severely ; lieutenant Robert Winchester, slightly ; lieutenant Donald McDonnell, severely ; lieutenant James Kerr Ross, slightly ; lieuts. George Logan, John McKiulay, George Mackie, Alexander McPherson, and Ewen Ross, severely ; lieutenant Hector McInnes, slightly ; ensign Robert Logan, slightly ; ensigns Angus McDonald and Robert Hewett, severely ; assistant-surgeon John Stewart, slightly.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—first lieuts. J. P. Gardiner and John G. Fitzmorris, severely ; first lieutenant Felix, slightly ; second lieutenant W. Shenley, severely.

79th Foot, 1st Batt.—volunteer Cameron, severely ; captain Robert McKay, severely.

HANOVERIAN OFFICERS.—KILLED, M. B. Verden—lieutenant Wegener. M. B. Osterode—lieutenant Janish.

WOUNDED, M. B. Verden—captain Witzendorff ; lieutenant Hunuber.

M. B. Lunenburg—captain Reiake ; lieutenant Dapue.

F. B. Bremen—captain Bassalde, severely.

F. B. D. York—lieutenant Mahrenhely, severely ; ensign Rabers, severely.

F. B. Grubenhagen—lieutenant Westphal, severely ; ensign Ernest, severely ; lieutenant Marwedel, slightly ; ensign Bulow, slightly.

F. B. Lunenburg—lieutenant Volger, severely.

F. B. Lunenburg—ensigns De Weyhe and Sachase, severely.

MISSING, F. B. Lunenburg—captain Corseir.

M. B. Verden—ensigns State and Hotzebue.

(Signed)

JOHN WATERS.

Lieut. Col. and Assistant-Adjutant-General.



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List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

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ON THE 18th OF JUNE, 1815.—KILLED, General Staff—lieut. general Sir Thomas Picton, G. C. B. ; major general Sir W. Ponsonby, K. C. B. ; colonel Baron Charles Ompteda ; lieut. col. Currie, 90th Foot, A. A. Gen.

Brigade Major Staff, K. G. L.—captain Henry Wigeman.

General Staff—captain Hon. Wm. Curzon, 69th Foot, D.A.A.G. ; captain Walter Crofton, 54th Foot, brigade-major ; captain T. Reignolds (major) 2nd R. N. B. Dragoons, brigade-major ; captain Charles Eccles, 95th Foot, brigade-major ; captain de Cloudt, K.G.L.

1st Life Guards—major Samuel Ferrior (lieut. col.) and captain Montague Lind.

2nd Life Guards—Richard Fitzgerald (lieut. col.)

Royal Regt. Horse Guards, Blue—Major Robert C. Packe.

1st Dragoon Guards—captain John D. Bringham (major) ; capt. George Battorsby ; and adjutant Thomas Shelver.

1st Royal Dragoons—captain E. C. Windsor ; lieutenant Charles Forster ; cornet J. C. Sykes ; and adjutant Thomas Shipley.

2nd, or R. N. B. Dragoons—lieut. col. James J. Hamilton ; captain G. L. Barnard ; lieutenant Trotter ; cornets Edward Westley ; F. C. Kinchant and Shuldham.

6th Dragoons—adjutant Michael Cluskey.

10th Hussars—major Hon. F. Howard and lieut. George Gunning.

11th Light Dragoons—lieut. Edward Phillips.

12th Light Dragoons—lieut. L. J. Bertie, and cornet J. E. Lockhart.

13th Light Dragoons—captain James Gubbins.

15th Hussars—major Edward Griffith, and lieut. Isaac Sherwood.

16th Light Dragoons—captain J. P. Buchanan, and cornet Alex. Hay.

1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—captain Frederick Peters, and lieutenants C. F. Sevetzou and Otto Kuhlmann.

2d Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—captain F. B. Bulow, and cornet H. Drangmeister.

3d Hussars, K. G. L.—captains August Kerssenbruh and George Jansen ; cornet William Deickmann ; and adjutant Henry Bruggemann.

Royal Artillery—captains F. Ramsay, and R. M. Cairnes (majors) ; captains G. Beane and S. Bolton.

Royal Artillery, K. G. L.—lieutenant Detlef de Schulzen.

1st Guards, 2d Batt.—Sir Francis D'Oyley (lieut. colonel.)

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—captains Edward Stables, and Charles Thomas (lieut. cols.) ensign Edward Pardoe.

Coldstream Guards, 2d Batt.—lieut. John Luice Blackman.

3d Guards, 2d Batt.—lieuts. Hon. Hastings Forbes (captain,) Thomas Crawford (captain,) and John Ashton (captain.)

1st Foot, 3d Batt.—lieut. William Young, and ensign William Anderson.

23d Foot, 1st Batt.—captains Joseph Hawtyn (major,) Charles Joliffe, and Thomas Farmer ; lieutenant G. Fensham.

27th Foot, 1st Batt.—captain George Holmes ; ensign Samuel Ireland.

28th Foot—captain William Meacham.

30th Foot, 2d Batt.—major J. W. Chambers ; captain Alex. McNabb ; lieuts. H. Beere and Edw. Prendergast ; ensigns John James and J. Bullen.

33d Foot—lieutenants R. H. Buck and James Hart.

40th Foot, 1st Batt.—major A. R. Heyland ; captain W. Fisher.

52nd Foot—ensign W. Nettles.

69th Foot—lieut. col. Chas. Morice (col.) captains Benjamin Hobhouse and R. Blackwood.

71st Foot—ensign John Todd.

73d Foot—captains Alex. Robertson and John Kennedy ; lieutenant Matthew Hollis ; ensigns Samuel Lowe and Charles Page.

79th Foot, 1st Batt.—lieutenants D. McPherson and E. Kennedy.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—first lieutenant Edward Dunkin Johnstone.

1st Light Batt. K. G. L.—captains Philip Holzerman, Henry Marschalk, and Alexander Goeben ; lieutenant Anthony Albert.



## List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

2nd Batt. K.G.L.—captains A. Boswell (major,) and William Schaumann ; ensign Frederick Robertson.

1st Line Batt. K.G.L.—captain Charles Holle.

2nd Line Batt. K.G.L.—captain George Tibe.

3d Line Batt. K.G.L.—captain Frederick Didel.

4th Line Batt. K.G.L.—ensign Frederick Cronhelm.

5th Line Batt. K.G.L.—captain C. Wurmb, adjutant Laves Shuck.

8th Line Batt. K.G.L.—captains William Voight and T. Westernhagen ; lieutenant William Mahrenholz.

**WOUNDED**—General Staff—general his royal highness the Prince of Orange, G.C.B. severely ; lieutenant general the Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. severely (right leg amputated ; ) lieutenant general Sir Charles Alten, K. C. B. severely ; major general Cooke, severely (left arm amputated ; ) major general Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. severely ; major general Frederick Adams, severely ; major general Sir James Kempt, K. C. B. slightly ; major general Sir Colin Halket, K. C. B. severely ; major general Sir William Doernberg, K. C. B. severely ; major general Sir Dennis Pack, K.C.B. slightly ; colonel Charles Duplat, severely (since dead ; ) colonel Sir John Elley, K.C.B. Royal Horse Guards (Blue) D. A. G. severely.

Permanent Staff—colonel Sir William Delancy, K.C.B. D.Q.M.G. severely, (since dead.)

General Staff—lieut. colonel Sir Henry Bradford, K. C. B. 1st Guards, A. Q.M.G. severely ; lieut. colonel Hon. Alexander Abercrombie, Coldstream Guards, A.Q.M.G. slightly.

Unattached—lieut. colonel John Waters, A. A. G. slightly.

General Staff—lieut. col. Sir H. Berkeley, K.C.B. 35th Foot, A.A. G. severely ; lieutenant colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, K. C. B. 3d Guards, aid-de-camp to his grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead ; ) lieut. col. C. F. Canning, aid-de-camp to his grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead ; ) major Hon. G. Dawson, A.Q.M.G. slightly ; major C. Beckwith, 95th Foot, A. Q. M.G. severely ; major Andrew Hamilton, 4th West India Regiment, aid-de-camp to major general Sir E. Barnes, slightly ; major L'Estrange, 71st Foot, aid-de-camp to major general Sir D. Pack, severely (since dead ; ) captain hon. E. S. Erskine, 60th Foot, D. A. A. G. severely (left arm amputated ; ) captain Edward Fitzgerald, 25th Foot, D. A. Q. M. G. slightly ; captain T. Hunter Blair (major), 91st Foot, brigade major, severely ; captain G. de Eureur, Staff, K. G. L. severely ; captain T. Noel Harris, half pay, severely (right arm amputated ; ) captain Henry Baines, Royal Artillery, slightly ; captain William Stothert, 3d Guards, severely (since dead ; ) captain Orlando Bridgman, 1st Guards, aid-de-camp to Lord Hill, slightly ; captain Henry Dunaesq, 9th Foot, aid-de camp to major general Byng, severely ; captain William Moray, extra aid-de-camp to major gen. Grant, severely ; lieut. Ralph Mansfield, 15th Hussars, aid-de-camp to major general Grant, slightly ; lieut. James Rook, half-pay, extra aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, slightly ; lieut. J. H. Hamilton, 46th Foot, D. A. A. G. slightly ; major William Thornhill, 7th Hussars, aid-de-camp to lieut. general the Earl of Uxbridge, severely ; captain Thomas Wildman, 7th Hussars, aid-de-camp to lieut. general the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly ; J. J. Fraser, 7th Hussars, aid-de-camp to lieut. general the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly ; lieut. Horace Seymour, 18th Hussars, aid-de-camp to lieut. general the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly.

1st Lif. Guards—captain Edward Kelly ; Cornets William Richardson and Samuel Cox, severely.

Royal Regiment Horse Guards (Blue)—lieut. colonel Sir Robert C. Hill, severely ; lieut. colonel Clement Hill, slightly ; lieuts. William Cunliffe Shawe and Everard Wm. Bouverie, slightly.

1st Dragoon Guards—captain Michael Turner, severely ; captain J. F. Naylor, slightly ; captain J. P. Sweeney, severely ; lieut. W. D. Irvine, slightly.

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List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

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1st (Royal) Dragoons—captain C. E. Radcliffe (major) severely ; captain A. R. Clarke ; lieuts. G. Gunning and Sig. Trafford, slightly ; T. R. Keily, severely ; Samuel Wyndowe, slightly ; C. Ommany, severely ; S. Goode-nough and Charles Blois, slightly.

2nd (R. N. B.) Dragoons—Majors J. B. Clarke (lieutenant colonel) severely ; and J. P. Hankin (lieut. colonel) slightly ; captains James Poole (major) and Richard Vernon, severely ; lieutenants John Mills, slightly ; Francis Stupart, James Carruthers, severely (since dead ; ) and Charles Wyndham, severely.

6th Dragoons—lieut. colonel Muter (colonel) slightly ; major F. S. Miller (lieut. colonel ; ) captains W. F. Brown and Hon. S. Douglas ; lieut. Alexander Hassard, severely.

7th Hussars—captains Thomas William Robins, William Vernor, and P. A. Heyliger ; lieutenants R. Douglas, Edward Peters, and Robert Beattie, severely.

10th Hussars—lieut. colonel George Quentin (colonel) severely ; captain John Grey, slightly ; captains John Gurwood and Chas. Wood, severely ; lieutenants Robert Arnold and Anthony Bacon, severely.

11th Light Dragoons—captain J. A. Schreiber, slightly ; lieut. Frederick Wood, severely ; Richard Coles, slightly ; and Robt. Milligan, severely.

12th Light Dragoons—lieut. colonel Hon. F. C. Ponsonby (colonel,) and captain Edwin Sandys, severely ; lieutenant W. H. Dowbeggen, slightly.

13th Light Dragoons—lieutenant colonel Shap Boyce ; captains Joseph Doherty, George Doherty, and Charles Bowers, slightly ; lieut. John Gale, severely (since dead ; ) lieut. John Pymn, severely (since dead ; ) lieutenants John H. H. Irwin, James Mill, and George H. Pack, slightly.

15th Hussars—lieut. colonel Leighton Dalrymple, severely (leg amputated ; ) captain Thackwell, severely (arm amputated ; ) captain John R. Whiteford, and lieut. William Byam, severely ; lieutenants Edward Byam and George A. Dawkins, slightly ; lieutenant Henry Buckley, severely (since dead.)

16th Light Dragoons—lieutenant colonel James Hay, severely ; captain Richard Weyland, and lieut. William Osten, slightly ; lieutenant N. D. Crichton, severely.

18th Hussars—lieutenant Charles Hesse, and adjutant H. Duperiere, severely.

23d Light Dragoons—major J. M. Cutcliffe, severely ; captain C. Webb Dance, slightly ; captain Thomas Gerrard (major,) and lieut. Thomas B. Wall, severely ; lieut. Brabasin Disney, slightly.

1st Light Dragoons, King's German Legion—lieutenant colonel John Bulow, severely ; major A. Reitzenstein, slightly ; captain B. Bothmer, severely ; captains P. Sichert and G. Hattorf, slightly ; lieutenant O. Hammerstein, severely ; lieuts. W. Mackenzie and Henry Bosse, slightly ; cornets S. He Vanne and Tritton, severely ; adjutant W. Tricke, slightly.

2nd Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—lieutenant colonels C. de Jonquires and C. Maydell, slightly ; captain T. Harling, severely ; lieutenant H. H. C. Ritter, severely ; cornet F. Loveny, severely.

1st Hussars, K. G. L.—lieutenant George Baring, slightly.

3d Hussars, K. G. L.—lieutenant colonel Lewis Meyer, severely ; captains Quintus Goeben and William Schuchen, slightly ; lieuts. Herman True and Christopher Ochlkens, severely ; cornet Frederick Floyer, slightly ; cornets Conrad Dassel and Hans Hodenberg, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—major Wm. Lloyde, severely ; captain Charles Napier, severely ; captain John Parker (major,) severely (leg amputated ; ) captain Robert Bull (major,) slightly ; captains E. C. Whinyates, C. C. Dansey, R. Macdonald, and W. Webber, slightly.

Royal Artillery, K. G. L.—captain Augustus Sympher, slightly ; captain William Brann, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—T. F. Strangeways, slightly ; lieutenant W. L. Breton, severely ; W. L. Robe, severely (since dead ; ) lieutenant William

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 List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.
 

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Smith, slightly; lieutenant M. Cromie, severely (both legs amputated); lieutenant Henry Foster, severely; lieutenants D. Crawford and J. Day, slightly; lieutenant C. Spearman, severely; lieutenant F. Manners, severely (since dead); lieutenant I. Harvey, severely (right arm amputated); lieutenant William Poole, severely.

Royal Artillery, K. G. L.—lieutenant Lewis Erythropel and Lewis Heise, severely.

Royal Engineers—lieutenant J. W. Pringle, severely.

Royal Staff Corps—captain Thomas Wright, slightly; lieutenant Geo. D. Hall, severely.

1st Guards, 2nd Batt.—captain Richard Henry Cooke (lieutenant col.) severely; W. H. Milnes (lieutenant col.) severely (since dead); lieutenants Francis Luttrell and Somerville W. Burgess (captains) severely; ensign Henry Fawcett, slightly.

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—captain Henry D'Oyley (lieutenant col.) severely; captain George Fead (lieutenant col.) slightly; lieutenant Hon. Robert Clements (captain) severely; lieutenant Charles Parker Ellis (captain) slightly; ensign Robert Batty, slightly; ensign Robert Bruce, severely.

Coldstream Guards, 2nd Batt.—captain Daniel McKinnon (lieutenant col. slightly; captain Henry Windham (lieutenant col.) severely; lieutenants Edward Sumner (captain) and Hon. Robert Moore (captain) severely; ensign Henry Frederick Griffiths, severely; ensign John Montague, slightly; ensign Henry Vane, severely.

3d Guards, 2nd Batt.—captain Charles Dashwood (lieutenant col.) severely; captains Edward Bowater (lieutenant col.) and Charles West (lieutenant col.) slightly; lieutenant Robert Bamford Hesketh (captain) slightly; lieutenant George Evelyn (captain) severely; lieutenant Hugh Montgomerie; ensigns Charles Lake and David Baird; Charles Simpson, severely (since dead.)

1st Foot, 3d Batt.—major Colin Campbell (lieutenant colonel) severely; captain L. Arquinbeau (major) slightly; captains Robert McDonald and Hugh Massey, (majors) severely; lieutenants Archibald Morrison, George Lane, J. F. Miller, and William Dodds, severely; lieutenants Robert H. Scott and J. L. Black, slightly; ensigns Thomas Stevens and Joseph McKay, slightly; ensign Leonard M. Cooper, severely; quarter-master Thomas Griffiths, slightly.

4th Foot, 1st Batt.—captains G. D. Wilson and James C. Edgill, slightly; lieutenants John Brown, George Smith, Halkett Boyd, William Squires, severely; lieutenant Robert Gerrard, slightly; ensign W. M. Matthews, slightly; adjutant W. M. Richardson, severely.

14th Foot, 3d Batt.—ensign Alfred Cooper, slightly.

23d Foot, 1st Batt.—lieutenant col. Sir H. W. Ellis, K. C. B. (col.) severely (since dead); major J. H. E. Hill (lieutenant col.) severely; captain Henry Johnson, slightly; lieutenant W. A. Griffiths, severely; lieutenants John Clyde and R. D. Sidley, slightly.

27th Foot, 1st Batt.—captain John Hare (major) slightly; captain John Tucker, severely; lieutenants G. McDonald, W. Henderson, R. Hancock, W. Fortesque, T. Craddock, E. W. Drew, C. Manly, and John Millar, severely; ensign Thomas Smith, severely; ensign John Ditmas, slightly; ensign Edw. Hancock, severely.

28th Foot—major R. Nixon (lieutenant col.) severely; captain Richard Llewellyn (major) severely; captain Richard Kelly, slightly; captains T. English, W. F. Wilkinson, Roger P. Gilbert, Henry Hillyard, Charles B. Caruthers, John T. Clarke, severely; captains John Willington Shelton, and John Deares, slightly; captain G. Ingram, severely (since dead); ensign J. Mountstevens, severely; adjutant Thomas Bridgland, slightly.

30th Foot—majors William Bailey (lieutenant col.) and C. A. Vigoreaux, (lieutenant col.) severely; captain A. Gere, slightly; lieutenant R. C. Eliott, slightly; lieutenants John Numbly and John Pratt, severely; lieutenants R. Hughes, T. Money penny, R. Daniel, John Roe (2nd) slightly; lieutenant W. O. Warren, severely; adjutant M. Andrews, slightly.

32nd Foot—captain Hugh Harrison, severely; lieutenant Thomas Rosslewin



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List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

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and James Colthurst, slightly; lieuts. Thomas Horan and Jonathan Jagoe, severely; ensigns J. M'Couchy, John Birtwhistle, and William Bennet, severely; adjutant David Davis, severely.

33d Foot—captains Charles Knight and J. Harty, slightly; lieuts. Thomas Reid, R. Westmore, and Samuel Pagan, severely; lieuts. Thomas Haight and John Cameron, severely (since dead;); ensigns W. Bain and —Drury, severely; adjutant W. Thain, slightly.

40th Foot—captains C. Ellis and J. H. Barnett, severely; lieuts. R. Moore, J. Mill, and J. Anthony, severely; lieut. J. Campbell, slightly; Hon. M. Brown, severely; lieut. J. Robb, slightly; ensigns F. Ford, and J. Clarke, severely.

42nd Foot—captain Mungo M'Pherson, slightly; lieuts. John Orr and John Gunn Munro, severely; lieuts. Hugh A. Fraser and James Brander, slightly; quarter-master Donald M'Intosh, slightly.

44th Foot—major George O'Mealy (lieut. col.) slightly; lieutenant James Burke, severely; adjutant Thomas M'Can, severely.

51st Foot—captain Samuel Beardesley, severely; lieut. Charles W. Tynedale, slightly.

52nd Foot—major Charles Rowan (lieut. col.) slightly; captain Charles Diggle, severely; captain James Frederick Love (major,) severely; lieut. Charles Dawson, severely; lieut. Matthew Anderson, severely (left leg amputated;); lieuts. George Campbell and Thomas Cottingham, severely; adjutant John Winterbottom, severely.

69th Foot—captain Lewis Watson (major,) severely; ensigns Henry Anderson and Edward Hodder, severely.

71st Foot, 1st Batt.—lieut. col. Thomas Reynell (col.) slightly; major Arthur Jones (lieut. col.) severely; captain Donald Campbell, slightly; captains William A. Grant and James Henderson, severely; captain Charles Johnson (major,) slightly; lieut. Joseph Barralier, slightly; lieut. John Raleigh Elwes, severely (since dead;); lieuts. Robert Lind and Robert Lawe, severely; lieuts. Carique Lewin, John Roberts, and John Coote, slightly; adjutant W. Anderson, slightly.

73d Foot—lieut. col. W. G. Harris (col.) severely; major Arch. M'Lean, severely; captains Henry Coane, Wm. Wharton, and John Garland, severely; lieuts. John M'Connel and Thos. Reynolds, severely; lieut. Donald Browne, severely (left arm amputated;); ensign Wm. M'Bean, severely; ensign Charles Eastwood, slightly; ensign George Bridge, severely; adjutant Patrick Hay, severely.

79th Foot—capt. James Campbell and Neil Campbell, severely (since dead;); lieuts. A. Cameron, C. M'Arthur, and A. Forbes; ensigns John Nash and A. S. Crauforde, slightly.

92nd Foot—capt. Peter Wilkie and Archibald Ferrier, slightly; lieuts. Robert Winchester and Donald M'Donald, severely; lieutenant James Kerr Ross, slightly; lieut. James Hope, severely.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—lieut. col. Sir A. F. Bernard, K.C.B. (col.) slightly; major Alexander Cameron (lieut. col.) severely; capt. Edward Chawner and William Johnstone; 1st lieuts. John Malloy, John Gardiner, George Simmons, and J. Stillwell, severely (since dead;); 2nd lieuts. Allen Stewart, James Wright, and James Church, severely.

95th Foot, 2nd Batt.—majors Amos Godsold Norcott (lieut. col.) and Geo. Wilkins, (lieut. col.) severely; captain George Miller (major,) severely; captain John M'Culloch, severely (left arm amputated;); lieuts. Wm. Humble and Edward Coxon, severely; lieuts. Donald Cameron, Robert Cochrane, John Fry, slightly; lieuts. John Ridgway, Joseph Lynam, Richard Eyre, Joseph Walsh, severely; lieut. Vera Webb, slightly.

95th Foot, 3d Batt.—major John Ross (lieut. col.) severely; 1st lieuts. J. T. Worsley, and G. H. Shenley, severely.

1st Light Batt. K.G.L.—major Hans Bussche, severely (right arm amputated;); capt. Fred. Gilsa, severely; lieuts. Christian Heise and Ker Wolrabe,



## List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

severely; lieutenant Adolphus Koster, slightly; lieutenant H. Leonhart, severely; ensign H. Gentzkow, slightly; ensign Charles Behne and A. Heise, severely.

2nd Light Batt. K. G. L.—lieutenant F. Kessler, severely; lieutenant G. Meyer, slightly; lieutenants O. Luidam and B. Riefkugel, severely; lieutenants M. Jobin and T. Carrey, slightly; lieutenant G. D. Grame, ensign George Franck, adjutant D. Timmann, severely.

1st Line Batt. K. G. L.—major Wm. Robertson, severely; captains Gerlach and Schlatter, severely; lieutenants A. Muller and H. Wilding, severely; ensign H. Lucken, severely; adjutant F. Schnath, severely.

2nd Line Batt. K. G. L.—captain F. Purgold, severely; lieutenant Clare Decken, severely.

3d Line Batt. K. G. L.—major Anthony Boden, severely; lieutenants Fred. Jansen and F. Leschen, severely; lieutenants A. Kuckuck and E. Kuckuck, slightly.

4th Line Batt. K. G. L.—major G. Chuden, severely (since dead); captain F. Heise, slightly; lieutenants Casp Both and A. Langworth, slightly; lieutenant W. L. De la Farque, severely; ensign Arnold Oppulin, slightly; adjutant A. Hartwig, severely.

5th Line Batt. K. G. L.—captain F. Sander, severely; lieutenant C. Berger, severely; lieutenant C. Clingsohr, severely.

8th Line Batt. K. G. L.—captain C. Rougemont, severely; lieutenant C. Sadler, slightly; ensign W. Marceau, severely; adjutant T. Brimmann, severely.

3d Batt. Royal Scots—volunteer Richard Blacklin, slightly.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—volunteer Charles Smith, slightly.

MISSING—Staff, K. G. L.—captain C. D. Bobers (brigade major.)

General Staff—lieutenant E. Gerstlacher, 3d Hussars, K. G. L. D. A. A. G. wounded.

2nd Life Guards—lieutenant Samuel Weymouth.

Royal Horse Guards (Blue)—captain John Thoyst.

1st Dragoon Guards—lieutenant col. William Fuller (colonel,) severely wounded; captain Henry Graham, Lieutenant Francis Brooke, severely wounded; cornet Hon. H. B. Bernard.

1st Dragoons—cornet Richard Magniac.

6th Dragoons—lieutenant P. Ruffo.

23d Light Dragoons—lieutenant Stephen Coxon.

2nd Light Batt. K. G. L.—captain Ernest Holzerman, wounded.

HANOVERIAN OFFICERS—KILLED—General Staff—captain M. Hanbury (brigade major.)

2nd Batt. Duke of York—lieutenant Uffel; ensign Berghoff.

Field Batt. Grubenhagen—lieutenant col. Baron Wurmb.

1st Lunenburg Batt.—captain Bohart; ensign de Plato.

Bremenvorde Batt.—ensign Thomas Holt.

Osterode Batt.—ensign Schautz.

WOUNDED—Field Jaegers—captain de Reden, slightly; lieutenant Grote, slightly; lieutenant Schultze, severely.

2nd Batt. Duke of York—major Baron Gudirig Munster, slightly; captain F. Gotthard, severely; captain C. Quentin, slightly; lieutenants G. Winkler and W. Reichers, slightly; ensigns Ludewig Nieuhuke and George Meyer, severely.

Field Batt. Grubenhagen—captain de Bauer, slightly.

Field Batt. Bremen—lieutenant col. Langrehre, severely (since dead); major Muller, slightly; lieutenants De Quistorff (1st,) and De Quistorff (2nd,) slightly; Adjutant Wehner, slightly.

Field Batt. Lunenburg—lieutenant col. Klencke, severely.

Field Batt. Verden—major Scoop, slightly; captain Jacoby, slightly; lieutenant Selig, slightly; lieutenant Brandis, (2nd,) severely; lieutenants Brandis, (1st,) and Sufleuplan, slightly; ensign Planz, slightly; Adjutant Gerhard, slightly.

Militia Batt. Bremenvorde—lieutenant Leoper, severely (since dead); lieutenants Wenche and Edward Mover severely; ensigns Edward Wilhew and Ernest Holthausen, slightly.

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 List of officers killed, wounded, and missing.
 

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Munder Batt.—captain Harstein; lieutenants Brisberg, Brennieg, and Schweneke; ensigns Murray and Oppermann,

1st Batt. Duke of York—captain de Pavel, severely; lieut. Shol, severely; ensign Muller, slightly.

3d Batt. Duke of York—major Clamor Buscke, severely.

Salzgitter—captain Ch. Hammerstein, slightly; lieut. Ch. Spangenberg, severely.

Militia Batt. Handelu—major Strube, slightly; capt. Blankhart, slightly; lieut. Kohle, severely; lieut. Kistner, slightly.

Militia Batt. Hildesheim—major Reden, severely.

Militia Batt. Peina—captain Bertram, severely; ensign Kohler, slightly; lieut. Helmrick, 7th Line Batt. K. G. L. attached, severely.

Griffhorn Batt.—Major Hammerstein; major Leue, 4th Batt. K. G. L. attached, severely (since dead); captain Wredenfeld, slightly; lieut. Schmidt, severely.

Lunenbourg—captain Kampt; ensigns Dornaur and Meyer.

Verden Batt.—lieuts. Hartzig, Wiencoken; ensign Ziengeener.

Osterode Batt.—major Reden; captains Papet and Ingersleben; lieuts. Groebe and Sambrecht.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS.

Lieut. Col. and Assistant-Adjutant-General.

Total 9999

1000 Officers included.

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 DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.
 

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\* \* \* The PUBLISHER, having met with such flattering encouragement, begs leave to inform his numerous Subscribers, that he has given a *Plan of the Battle*, and a *Sketch of the Plains of Waterloo*, in preference to the Vignette Title-Page, which was promised; and he flatters himself this arrangement will render the work more valuable, and give general satisfaction.

New-York, Sept.—1819.

## EXPLANATION

*Of the Movements and Battles fought during the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815, by the French and Anglo-Prussian Armies.*

The 15th of June the French attacked and repulsed the Prussians, and passed the Sambre to Charleroi, B, and to Marchienne-au-Pont, C; they took Charleroi, B, the Prussians, commanded by General Ziethen, retreated with precipitation through Gosselies, D, upon Fleurus, E; they concentrated at Sombref, F; they occupied the villages, viz. of Ligny, I, St. Amand, 2, and Bry, 3, situated in front of their position. The English army united again at Nivelles, G. The French attacked a brigade of the Belgic army at Frasnès, H, and obliged them to retreat upon Quatre Bras, I.

On the 16th, the Belgians recovered their lost ground; but Lord Wellington caused his army to retrograde in the morning, to take their position at Quatre Bras, I. Battle of Ligny. The left of the French is in advance to Frasnès, H, and towards Quatre Bras, I: the centre at Ligny, I, and the right towards Sombref, F. The English and the Prussians were attacked at the same time. Marshal Blücher being overcome, retreats upon Tilly, J, and marches all night to arrive at Wavre, K, where they concentrated.

On the 17th, General Thielman retreated to Sombref, F, upon Gembloux, L, where he joined the fourth Prussian corps, of which a part marched towards Mount St. Guibert, M. The French following up their success; one part of the army pursue the Prussians, the other marched against Lord Wellington, who retreated to Quatre Bras, I, upon Genappe, N, and from thence to Waterloo, O; where he took his position, supported by the forest of Soignies, and the cavalry on the roads to Brussels and Nivelles, G; his right extended to Merke Braine, P, and his left towards Ter La Haye, Q, communicating with Wavre, K, by Ohain, R. The ravines, and the farms of Hougomout, S, and of La Haye Sainte, T, covered the wings of the English army, whose centre rested on the plains of Mont Saint Jean, U. The bivouacks were established near the observatory, V.

On the 18th, the French attacked the English position, and commenced the fire at Hougomout, S, by which they got possession also of La Haye Sainte, T. The centre of the English army, occupying in force the heights of Mont St. Jean, U, is vigorously attacked. Planchenoit, W, and the farm of La Belle Alliance, X, is occupied by the French; it was towards this point, that Bulow directed himself, at the same time that Marshal Blücher bore down upon Ohain, R, to act in junction. A is the place where the Prince of Orange was wounded. The Prussians marched through St. Lambert, Y, and Frischmont, Z, from whence they debouched towards Smouhen, on the right of the French, to decide the affair.

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